

# IT'S GOING DOWN!



## ANARCHIST NEWS & PRACTICE



## ACROSS SO-CALLED NORTH AMERICA



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**Front top:** Indigenous occupation against the construction of a natural gas terminal on *Lelu Island*, CAN

**Front middle:** American flag burned in the street during anti-police demonstration in *St. Louis*, USA

**Front bottom:** Highway blockaded for disappeared students in *Guerrero*, MEX

**Back top:** Anti-police demonstration in *Oakland*, USA

**Back bottom:** Street fighting on anniversary of Tlatelolco Massacre in *Mexico City*, MEX

**It's GOING DOWN** was launched in the summer of 2015 and is made up of a network of friends and comrades across the territory referred to as North America. We started It's Going Down to create a medium for revolutionaries to communicate across a wider terrain, to spread analysis and discuss strategy. We hope IGD helps to build bridges between movements, groups and individuals to show that we are all linked together through action and the desire to better our lives while at the same time creating a material force which can seize territory, defeat our enemies and the apparatuses of control, and create new ways of being.

Beyond just being a resource for communicating anarchist ideas, forms-of-life, and methodologies, we also have a desire to foment a culture not only of revolutionary action, but thinking strategically about that action. We seek to create an environment that is non-academic yet still conveys the dynamic and complex problems and situations that we find ourselves in.

Towards this end, we hold a high standard for publication. We place a focus on actions that constitute a material attack over symbolic gestures, as well as whether or not they are self-organized; and in the case of analysis, to what extent it sharpens our knives of praxis.

It's worth spending a moment to contextualize this magazine. Mexico finds itself on the brink of insurrection as rebel communities establish themselves throughout the southern region. The United States is dealing with some of the fiercest rebellions against the police that it has seen in decades. Meanwhile in Canada, indigenous communities are drawing lines in the sand against pipelines and other development projects, which not only infringe upon their land but are ultimately destroying the planet. In the weeks this magazine was being put together white supremacists shot at anti-racists confronting police murder in Minneapolis, a shooting spree took place at Planned Parenthood in Colorado, and a Mosque in California and a Muslim restaurant in North Dakota were firebombed. The attacks of the autonomous far-right and the white supremacist societal reaction have come

to color the reality of those who live in the contrasted margins of society.

It is in this context we present a short collection of articles we (re)published on It's Going Down.

We start with "If I Die In Police Custody Burn Everything Down," an original, written as a call for a revolutionary strategy in the wake of anti-police and anti-white supremacy rebellions across the so-called United States. The St. Louis metropolitan area had just seen two outbursts of revolt, on the anniversary of the Ferguson police killing Michael Brown, Jr. and the anniversary of St. Louis police killing Kajeme Powell. On both days the police in those respective cities killed another young black man, inviting street fights and looting. We republish selections of reports recounting some intimate moments from those nights, as well as "Another Word For White Ally Is Coward" which takes aim at the ally politics long constraining revolutionary activity in the context of St. Louis.

"Do Riots Work" looks at the strategy involved in rioting beyond the glorification of property destruction without regard to its content.

Next, there are two excerpts from regions where anti-authoritarians have struggled to create space for autonomous action in the face of entrenched activist groups. One these is the Twin Cities—where just two months after it was written, saw small-scale rioting after another police killing. Despite the strong grip of the non-profit leadership, rebels clash with police on multiple occasions, and as mentioned earlier, shot at as detailed in "Conflict In Minneapolis."

Then we visit Olympia, where radicals have been facing off with both police and the far-right since May of this year. After a night of spectacular combat against a handful of white supremacists, momentum in the area died down before September. The first week of the month saw anti-police and anti-fascist actions blended together beautifully in another outburst of revolt. "Against The Charges, Against The Cops, Against The Nazis" recounts that week, while an excerpt from earlier in the summer discusses the lack of commitment to

prolonged, often less glamorous, action. "Choosing Sides" draws on the lessons of Olympia and that of Charleston, where a racist mass shooting led to an outcry against Confederate symbolism. These actions eventually led to the removal of the Confederate flag from the South Carolina capitol, obviously a empty gesture by a white supremacist institution. However the KKK was not happy with this turn of events and organized a rally, which was fiercely confronted by anti-racists as described in "Report From 'Run The Klan Out Of Town'." "Report From 'Smash the Hammerskins' March" discusses strategic considerations after several hundred confront no-show nazis in Seattle.

Next, two excerpts from Hamilton and Philadelphia discuss local responses to the gentrification of their cities. This is followed by an interview with the Seattle Solidarity Network that discusses their campaign against a multinational slumlord and also explores how to avoid the pitfalls of activism and charity.

At the end of 2015, Montreal saw a new round of confrontational anti-capitalist demonstrations, as examined in "The Black Bloc Takes Back the Streets of Montreal."

"Here Are The Children of Ricardo Flores Magón" is a brief summary of actions around the electoral boycott in Mexico. Many cities across the country confronted the police and burned election materials.

The next two pieces, "Agency Against Pipelines" and "The Parties Over" explore some of the themes brought up in earlier texts but apply them to anti-pipeline and queer struggles, respectively.

We wrap up with a lengthy interview with Tom Nomad that discusses insurgency, counter-insurgency and the logistics of policing in Cleveland.

These texts are followed by a round up of actions since the site launch, and resources for more information.

Visit the website for regular updates—or submit one—when it's going down:

**itsgoingdown.org**

# IF I DIE IN POLICE CUSTODY BURN EVERYTHING DOWN

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED BY IT'S GOING DOWN - AUGUST 23RD, 2015

Across the US, in response to the outpouring of rebellion in the wake of a tidal wave of police murders, a handful of cops have been charged, several have been fired, and a few have simply quit. Those in power, from president Obama to the local police chiefs, rush to make cosmetic changes to an ever militarizing police force. They hurry to buy police body cameras while at the same time departments spend millions on decommissioned military vehicles and weapons to suppress future rebellions.

They say the conversation on policing and race and America has changed, but the daily reality of American life continues to produce piles of dead bodies and millions of people incarcerated. Since Mike Brown's murder by Ferguson police, over 1,100 people have been killed by law enforcement in the United States.

We aren't in a crisis of policing – we're in the middle of a war.

## THAT'S THE ONLY WAY MOTHERFUCKERS LIKE YOU LISTEN!

At the same time, due to the ongoing rebellions in Ferguson, Baltimore, and Oakland, those in the "opposition," from the unions, to Jackson and Sharpton, to the Nation of Islam, have all intensified their rhetoric. The commemoration for the 'Million Man March' is entitled, "Justice or Else!" The recent disruptions of the Presidential debates, from Sanders to Clinton to Bush

all point to a growing anger at politics as usual and an acceptance of more radical action. But these protests also continue this idea that if "justice" is not served, there will be consequences. "If you don't negotiate with us, we'll set the rabble loose!" say the activists and politicians in waiting.

But it hasn't been the 'leaders' of the official Black Lives Matter group, the New Black Panthers, or any of the leftist parties that have pushed the current uprisings; the revolts have by and large been carried out by the people themselves and the youth in particular. In Baltimore, it was high-schoolers who trashed cop cars and threw stones at police, driving them out of the neighborhood. In Ferguson, it was the neighborhood of Canfield which fought back every night for weeks in the face of a military occupation. It was a collection of graffiti writers, youth of color, and anarchists who held the streets and blocked freeways in Oakland for close to a month.

During these rebellions, the "official" organizations, whether the Democratic Party or the non-profits, were all trying to smoother the uprisings. Now, they hope to turn this energy into votes and new members. But while the official groups try to match their rhetoric to the actions of the people, all they have as leverage against those in power to make changes is the *actions of the people they hope to drown out*. "Listen to us and we will make sure there isn't a riot," they say. "Make these changes,

put us in power, and there won't be an uprising."

But things must change, everything must change.

The riots were just the start, we must go much further.

## RISE THE FUCK UP! SHUT THAT SHIT DOWN!

Buildings have been burned, freeways have been blocked, and millions of dollars of property and police equipment has been destroyed. "But nothing has changed," we hear people say over and over again. *And they are right.*

With each cycle of revolt, things only seem to get worse. The anti-war movement, the student movement, Occupy, and Black Lives Matter – all of these moments were largely based around the idea of exacting a cost on a system in order to push it to make structural changes. From blocked freeways, to burned buildings, to shaming hashtags, "Here, have a taste of our anger," was our mindset.

But those in power became quite adapt at making changes—changes that didn't amount to shit. Their rhetoric changed; they said words like, "the 99%" and "Black Lives Matter," around election time. They put cameras on police, but in the end the cameras are still pointed at us. They took healthcare away from prisoners and diverted it into higher education. They passed laws upping the minimum wage to \$15 in several years time; keeping us squarely locked in poverty. All the while, this

society continues to break down and the collapse of the ecological system continues to hurtle us towards apocalypse.

The militant movements of the last several years have been failures because they have only sought to generate reforms from the present system, even if they didn't make demands. We went into the streets knowing something was wrong, but in the back of our minds we hoped those in power would listen to us and make changes.

Those in the Left groups with their newspapers claimed we lacked a vanguard party to guide us. The unions claimed we lacked representation in the workplace. The churches and mosques said we lacked moral superiority in the face of state violence. The non-profits whined we had a poor outreach strategy.

The riots, blockades, occupations, and shut-downs failed because they didn't go far enough.

*Revolutions that go half-way, dig their own grave.*

## **DON'T LET MY PARENTS TALK TO AL SHARPTON, JESSE JACKSON, OR ANY OF THE MOTHERFUCKERS WHO WOULD DESTROY MY NAME**

Being a revolutionary in the present terrain means knowing that things aren't going to get better; that currently there are no reforms that the system can grant that will get us out of the current crisis. Those in power will continue to offer only more repression, surveillance, incarceration, and policing to quell rebellion, while also attempting to placate popular anger by attempting to offer cosmetic changes or "expand the dialog."

But what would a revolutionary

strategy look like? What has already taken place in the streets that can show us a way forward? In the past several years, across the world, from Oakland to Egypt, we've seen the proliferation of various tactics and strategies – all responding to a historical moment of crisis that defines our era.

We have seen the proliferation of occupations, whether in camps, squares, or buildings. These communal spaces serve as a vehicle to get organized from and meet the needs of the insurgents involved. We saw this in many Occupy camps, in Tahrir square, and in Ferguson around the burned QT building. All insurrections need bases of operations; they need space. But we have to push and expand this space, into schools and universities (such as in various occupations across Chile and Europe), in occupied union halls and workplaces (such as in Greece), and into public areas and whole regions (such as in Turkey at Gezi Park, throughout the Rojava Revolution in the autonomous region of Kurdistan, indigenous blockades of pipelines such as across Canada, and at the ZAD in France).

*Autonomy is power.*

Beyond just being a place where people talk and make plans, these places need to expand the communal activity of people organizing themselves and meeting their needs directly. But such space will always need to be defended. Whether it is the streets of Ferguson from the police and the National Guard, or the occupied Egyptian squares, rioting has been the offensive capacity by which people have defended themselves from government forces and expanded their territories.

## **LET THEM KNOW THAT MY SISTERS GOT THIS!**

Rioting, in a defensive and offensive capacity also allows people to attack the infrastructure of the enemy: namely the police, surveillance systems, and the like. However, beyond bank windows and burned patrol cars, the use of blockades has proven to be a very effective tactic in shutting down the flows of capital, stopping the construction of a project, and preventing the movement of state forces. We can see this most spectacularly in the indigenous struggles in Canada (such as the Mi'kmaq and Unist'ot'en), where Native groups are setting up encampments to stop the development of fracked oil pipelines.

But these tactics by themselves are just that, *tactics*. Blockading a freeway against white supremacy might be the start of a longer revolutionary struggle or a way to gather our forces, but simply going onto a freeway and hoping that something will materialize (or worse yet, someone will listen,) is delusional thinking. If we want to build a revolutionary force capable of destroying this system of domination, white supremacy, and exploitation, then we have to think about tactics in terms of a *strategy*.

Thinking about a strategy means paying attention to the situation we are in both locally where we live, but also nationally and internationally. We have to think about how the Left and those that try and control social struggles will react and try and hinder our efforts. We have to think about how the State will try and repress us for attacking the social order.

But above all, we have to think about how our actions can grow, expand, become more powerful, and ultimately link up with others across the social terrain.

# ANOTHER WORD FOR WHITE ALLY IS COWARD

FROM ANTI-STATE STL - AUGUST 20TH, 2015

Fear. Fear is real. There are times when fear should be listened to. Like when shots ring out and fear tells you to duck and run. There are other times when fear needs to be pushed through. We leave it up to each person to decide when to push and when to run. The fear we criticize is not that of those who stay away from violent and chaotic scenes, not that of those who listen to their bodies telling them they cannot handle yet another trauma. We find no fault in those who make these choices for themselves.

The fear that we would like to critique here is the fear of forming one's own opinion, the fear of developing one's own analysis and then acting upon it. We do find fault in this fear of the White Ally. To be a White Ally is to stop thinking for one's self, to blindly follow a leader based on no other criteria than their identity. At least this is what is demanded of us by those who would make us into Allies.

The concept of the White Ally is bankrupt. One cannot be an ally to a category of people. To speak the words "I am a White Ally to people of color" is to commit an act of double speak, to internalize non-sense. There is no singular black voice that can be listened to, no authentic community leadership which to follow. There are only many different people with different ideas, life experiences and perspectives. To think otherwise, to think that all black people share a common opinion is extremely problematic, one might even say

racist. One can be an ally to individuals though there are other words in the English language which describe this relationship with more grace: friend, lover, partner and sometimes cellmate or co-defendant.

## ON LEADERSHIP

There are two kinds of leadership. One which comes from organizations with acronyms for names and official titles with paid salaries and another which is created by activity. We will refer to the first as formal leadership and the second as informal leadership. The reality of the current moment demands that white people follow the leadership of black people while in the spaces of majority black rebellion. We are currently not in a position to challenge this narrative though we would like to put forward the concept of a multiracial rebellion in which informal leadership is picked up and put down again by all participants. As ideal as that may be to us, that is not the situation in which we continually find ourselves. Accordingly we choose to follow the informal leadership of black people fighting back against police terror. For better or worse, in some situations, a riot for example, one cannot follow both the formal leadership of those associated with organizations and the informal leadership of those fighting in the streets. In such situations the two forms of leadership move in opposite directions.

As people who do not identify with the role of White Ally, we choose the side of the fighters while the White

Ally consistently chooses the side of the organizations.

Why do people associated with organizations find riotous behavior so objectionable? While we don't want to put words into their mouths, we do have a few guesses. Paid organizers require funding. Funding requires wealthy and often liberal benefactors. Don't bite the hand that feeds, right? Organizers require a body of people to be organized which is another way of saying manipulated or controlled. When people refuse to be controlled, organizers don't know how to abandon their roles and participate in the moment. They remain stuck between an instinct to rally and direct and the momentum of a body of people who have temporarily escaped all mediation and control.

Where some claim to be building a movement, we see only the repression of the movement. What would it look like if instead of organizing that repression, groups of trusted comrades took on the task of giving the rioters a fighting chance of winning. What supplies and materials are needed where and when in order to actually win a confrontation with the police? How can we do this in a way that strengthens our capacity instead of escalating to a point at which all the gloves come off? What offensive objectives could we set for ourselves – land, food, housing, infrastructure? What does it even mean to get free and what would it take to get there?

## **ON BARRICADES**

A barricade is a tool. We do not place objects in the street simply in order to have fun. We do so in order to inhibit the flow of traffic, to “shut shit down,” and sometimes to slow the advance of the police and create a situation of greater safety for those who wish to fight them. We see the process of street fighting which has evolved over the past year as a process of learning, gaining confidence and of setting precedents for future rebellions. An ideal barricade would be large, tall and strong and potentially set on fire only once the police have arrived. We think this would be an effective tactic to employ in order to hold and defend space and as a way to safely fight. Getting to the point where the construction of such a barricade could take place would most likely entail a fair amount of collective learning and creativity. In other words, we all need to practice together.

This is why we participate in riots instead of staying home or simply watching from the sidewalks like good White Allies.

## **TO THOSE WHO SAY WE’LL RUN AWAY WHEN SHIT GETS REAL, THAT OTHERS WILL BEAR THE CONSEQUENCES OF OUR ACTIONS, THAT WE NEVER EXPERIENCE THE REPRESSION THAT WE INSTIGATE:**

Over the past 15 years of participation in various social movements and struggles we have gone through a lot. Collectively, we have been shot with rubber bullets, tear gassed, pepper sprayed and tazed. We have been arrested countless times racking up records that only increase the level of our bail and decrease our employability. We have stared

10 year felony sentences in the face and refused to break with our principles. Some of us have been beaten within an inch of our lives by rabid police wielding flashlights and metal capped clubs. One of us actually did die and thanks only to a combination of luck, stubbornness and a doctor’s hands came back to life. We have had our houses raided. We have been placed under 24 hour FBI surveillance and subpoenaed by federal grand juries.

Some of us have permanent nerve damage in our wrists due to hand cuffs and pain compliance techniques. We’ve had our fingers intentionally broken by police. We’ve been beaten during police interrogation. We could go on, but the point is not to congratulate ourselves for the misery that we’ve lived though. The point is to say that shit got real for us a long time ago and we’re still here. We didn’t run. We still come out for almost every demo, though lately we’ve stopped making them happen ourselves. We’re still confronting power and siding with those who fight. After a decade and a half of beatings and court cases, we’re still on the same tip and we’re not going anywhere.

## **TO THOSE WHO SAY THEY DON’T TRUST US:**

You shouldn’t, and we don’t trust you either. Which is not to say that we’re immediately suspicious of all strangers. Trust, like friendship, is a mutual relationship that is built over time. It is not one-sided. It is not something that White Allies have to earn. It is something that comrades who struggle and live together over many years develop. Hopefully, the past year of protests and riots has produced many new relationships of trust throughout the city we live in and across the country. We don’t

expect to be included in all of these relationships, but just because we’re not a part of your new crew doesn’t mean we have nothing to offer each other.

## **TO THOSE WHO WOULD TRY TO UNMASK US:**

We wear masks, not because we are police agents nor because we are always intent on startin somethin, but rather we cover our faces to remain safe in conflict-filled situations involving the police. Contrary to the opinion popular among a certain segment of the protester population, white people do sometimes get targeted by the police even when they are in majority black crowds. In our experience, police pick out and target or scapegoat rebellious individuals with easily identifiable features: a brightly colored piece of clothing for example. They do this in order to make a quick and successful arrest with easily communicated orders.

This is why we wear dark clothes and masks. It’s not (just) because we think we look good dressed up like ninjas. To act by, say, de-arresting a fellow rebel and then change one’s clothing is one way of avoiding police repression. The more people who do this, the safer we all are. The fewer masked people there are on the streets the more those who fight are left exposed. Even if you are not going to break the law, wearing a mask is a subtle way of increasing the safety and the power of the crowd. Where there are security cameras or police video surveillance, which is to say almost everywhere these days, everyone should be wearing a mask. The more the police recognize you, the more likely you are to be targeted for arrest or additional surveillance.

## TO THOSE WHO SAY WE'VE STARTED ALL THE FIRES:

At best this is the highest form of self-delusion. At worst it is intentional manipulation that could lead to serious legal consequences. In addition to simply being wrong, claiming that the many acts of arson committed over the past year were perpetrated by white people erases the agency of black rebels. According to this logic black people will only violently rebel if they are put up to it by whites.

## TO THE ACTIVISTS:

Let's make a deal. We promise not to disrupt your Non-Violent Direct Actions and Civil Disobedience spaces. Hell, most of us probably won't even show up. In return, the only thing we ask is that you stop coming into the space of a riot and attempting to control what is by definition an uncontrollable situation.

Unlike you, we don't want you to stop doing what you think is right and we're not really interested in convincing you to see things our way at all costs. If, when it comes down to it, we just disagree on fundamental issues, then so be it. We'll have to find some way of co-existing.

We could go further to criticize all the specialized roles of the official Movement like legal observer, street medic, live streamer or citizen journalist. It's not that we think that no one should be carrying medical supplies and possess the training to use them under the most stressful of circumstances. Or that, even though most footage taken at demonstrations serves the interest of the police, there is never a useful reason to have a camera, a note pad and a pen. It's just that the more people there are

standing around watching, spectating, the less people there are actually participating. And if we're actually going to win we're going to need all the active participation we can get. So by all means, bring your camera, your maalox and your bandages, but also, bring your gas mask, your leather gloves, and an extra t-shirt to tie around your face. Refuse to be confined to a single role that excludes you from participation in all others. Break down the division between fighters and care-takers, between actors and supporters.

Even while we make this gentle criticism we also recognize that not everyone feels comfortable doing everything. Different people have different inclinations and comfort levels and we respect this difference. Hopefully others can begin to do the same.

– A few of the many anarchists in  
St. Louis

P.S. We're not all white!

## Anti-Police Graffiti In Hochelaga, Montréal Communique

Last night, a few friends painted a flaming police cruiser in the neighborhood of Hochelaga along the main boulevard, inspired by the struggle against police in St. Louis and Ferguson. Solidarity with all the rebels out on the streets learning how to fight the police together. Despite the more successful enforcement of social peace in Montréal at the moment, your acts and words resonate with the furthering of hostilities towards white supremacy, the State, and capital in our context.

Montréal Counter-Info  
August 29th, 2015

## The Police Kill Again In St. Louis Excerpt

The police arrive and form a line, not yet dressed in riot gear. Behind them, two armored vehicles sit. Masks start to get put on. I see groups of people grabbing rocks. At some point, I see a white woman yell at a group of black kids to stop grabbing rocks. They ignore her. The police are using binoculars to survey the crowd for trouble. They are videotaping the crowd as well, both to find the troublemakers, but also to show the public that they used "restraint."

Rocks, water bottles, and bricks start to get thrown. At this point, the police haven't gotten out their riot shields yet, so they're kind of like sitting ducks. As more things are thrown, other officers from behind the line scurry to hand out shields to those in front.

Compared to fighting the police in Ferguson on West Florissant, surrounded by shitty strip malls, here we are surrounded by homes. It was hard not to feel a parallel with the Baltimore Uprising, seeing people grab whatever they could find and hurl it at the police, repurposing the decay and the violence that capitalism and white supremacy has imposed. The decay of a falling down building with loose bricks or the concrete from a broken sidewalk—instead of something to merely live with—now becomes a weapon to throw: to throw away the rampant structural violence of ghettoization and inflict literal violence back upon those who enforce it. It's like: we don't want this anymore, you can have it!

Anti-State STL  
August 22nd, 2015

# On The Anniversary of Mike Brown's Murder: 48 Hours In Ferguson Excerpt

*Leone:* I noticed a lotta the tags and murals that were up the last time I was in Ferguson were power-washed away, especially around the foot bridge on W. Florissant crossing the creek.

*Nancie:* Yeah, but there was a lot of new graffiti up in the neighborhood, too, like those posters with the Bakunin quote on them, and the black rose memorials...

*Leone:* I saw that poster and got a picture of it. The Bakunin quote read "The passion for destruction is a creative passion, too" and then at the bottom it said "...Toward another year of creativity. Ferguson, Missouri, August 10, 2014".

*Nancie:* There was also lots of 'FTP' and 'Fuck 12' tags up on the walls and utility boxes and shit around the neighborhood.

*Leone:* It's really amazing how the neighborhood has changed. Something I noticed was the young people don't wait anymore for any organized rally or call-to-action to mobilize themselves or take autonomous action.

\*

*Nancie:* Yeah, some guy with a bullhorn pointed out how beautiful the sky was and directed the crowd to all look at it. I think Leone tried to get a picture with his phone, but it's like the sky just opened up suddenly and started pouring rain.

*Leone:* What was cool was the drone was flying right above us while we were in the streets and got caught in the storm with us. It was having a lot of trouble staying in the air. At one point I heard it and looked up and it was totter-

ing by the overhang we'd taken shelter under, and barely avoided crashing into a pole in the strip mall parking lot.

*Joan:* That's hilarious. Fuckin' drone.

*Nancie:* We were under there for a while, and watched most of the cops get in their cars and SUVs to take shelter from the storm.

*Leone:* There was actually still a lot of folks in the middle of W. Florissant holding the streets, when suddenly some folks taking shelter around us got really excited because a buncha people ran up on the strip mall across the street, took advantage of the storm and sudden demobilization of the police, and started looting.

ReWyld StL  
August 11, 2015



# DO RIOTS WORK?

## EXPLORING NEW FRONTIERS OF RECUPERATION

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED ON IT'S GOING DOWN - JULY 9TH, 2015

In the past several months since the streets of the so-called United States of America were set alight by riots after the murder of black teenager Mike Brown by a white police officer, an increasing number of people seem to be asking the question: do riots work?

In answering, people tend to look at the historical connection between violent unrest and the government granting concessions afterwards. While this connection is certainly very real, it misses some key aspects and drastically reduces the scope of what we might consider a so-called “victory.” The federal investigation into the Ferguson Police Department would likely never had occurred if not for the sustained unrest throughout 2014. The rioting that took place after a BART police officer murdered Oscar Grant is often credited with the officer’s arrest and subsequent conviction (however lenient.) Fear of further rioting in Birmingham is said to have prompted the federal government to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And if the federal investigation, the conviction of a police officer, or the passing of legislation is what is sought after, then surely, the riots work. But we want much more than that; we desire the downfall of the capitalist-white-supremacist-patriarchal social order.

This thought process has emerged in reaction to the obscuring of violent (for lack of a better word) conflict in favor of a white-washed, pacifist history of struggle. Oftentimes liberals

and others wishing to preserve social peace suggest that all struggles that were successful primarily utilized non-violent tactics. It may be tempting to accept the above framework as a response, but we do so at our own peril.

A more important question might ask *why* rioting is suddenly caught in this recuperative scheme. Before, the state was satisfied with repression coupled with the spreading of “outside agitator” narratives to isolate potential rioters. But since the Ferguson uprisings, the tactic has become more *generalized*. As a decreasing amount of people are put off by riots, and thus the strategy of erasing its potential must be shifted. When the success of rioting is framed in terms of concessions won, it replaces the revolutionary nature of the riot with the agenda of reform. It becomes simply one of many tools in the activist’s toolkit to achieve “social change.” Want to pressure your elected officials? Riot. Revolutionaries seem to be misled by this newfound appreciation for formerly-condemned tactics and are excited for a culture that accepts and even supports not-so-civil disobedience. But when we agree to this framework, we only sacrifice this growing potential.

After periods of unrest, self-styled radicals often claim that violent tactics were the only way to grab media attention, to bring an issue to light, or the only way to make those in power listen. And this is not untrue. Those in power certainly only lis-

ten when they are being threatened, and rioting offers people a way to threaten power. But when a political solution is offered—the federal investigation, the indictment, etc.—it is not a reward for rising up, it is an attempt at de-escalation, at counter-insurgency. This is key to understanding the connection between uprisings and concessions.

In exchange for restoring social peace, the state offers superficial solutions to the underlying problems that caused people to riot in the first place. Rioters return to their homes, feeling accomplished while nothing fundamentally changes. Heraldng these concessions as sincere accomplishments not only obscures their recuperative effect, but also mistakes them for genuinely progressive solutions. No amount of “bad apple” cops locked up could possibly end the oppression found in the very existence of police and prisons. No amount of legislation can replace the need to completely dismantle the state structure.

For riots to truly “work,” we must abandon the framework of the activist, and recognize the concessions of the state as what they truly are: attempts at recuperation. Each riot offers us the opportunity to find each other and act collectively, appropriating everything around us that was built for the functioning of capitalism for our own needs, or else do away with it. It is only through sustaining moments of rebellion that we might catch a glimpse of sincere success.

## **Minneapolis Could Easily Burn Like Baltimore** Excerpt

Or so says a community organizer within the Black Lives Matter movement. And a number of so-called community leaders would agree. But this acknowledgement is followed up by solutions to make sure that it doesn't. The list of demands, whether body cameras or better jobs, the protest marshals placed between the cops and ourselves, all tools to prevent things from getting out of control. Quite often they don't even attempt to hide the fact that they are *de-escalators*. And here is where the community leaders find themselves shoulder-to-shoulder with the police—both working just as adamantly as the other to eliminate unrest.

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Instead of attempting to dissect why certain people try to manage dissent, we find it much more fruitful to sketch a way out. As mentioned earlier, blockage has emerged as an instinctual response to police violence. To block the flows of the city is to interrupt the physical processes through which forces of domination manifest. The riot allows for these blockades to multiply: blocking roads and trains with dumpsters and debris instead of leaving our bodies vulnerable, blocking police operations with projectiles, while also providing the opportunity to directly attack the structures of our enemies and temporarily claim territory as autonomous. We must also learn how to expand beyond the riot as

well, pushing the limits until there is no going back.

Minneapolis can indeed burn just like Baltimore, and everywhere else too. It takes confidence, effort, and intention. We certainly aren't devoid of reasons to revolt, two people have been shot by police in the Twin Cities in the past month. Police shootings are the culmination of so many other, more subtle forms of oppression, and it's unfortunate that at the current moment we seem to be unable to act before tragedy strikes. Yet, it won't matter when we act if we cannot escape the impotent symbolism that activism has accustomed us to.

Conflict MN

August 20th, 2015

## **An Open Letter To Philly Anti-Authoritarians And Other Friends** Excerpt

It's no surprise that the current nature of most Philly street demos have failed to open up space in the streets that allowed for effective forms of autonomous participation. There were a few larger demonstrations that felt more uncontrollable than the tight-knit activist gatherings that led up to them. At these larger demonstrations there were usually a few attempts to take and hold major roads and interstates. All of these attempts failed. The fact that these attempts occurred shows an energy that hasn't been seen at street demos here in a long time. Yet the failures can represent the shortcomings of activism, and its inability to understand and thwart the counter-insurgency methods deployed by the state.

On the contrary these failures also represent the traps many Philly anti-authoritarians have found themselves in. The trap of total absence of building relationships and maintaining a relevant presence in the streets. Many think, "protests in Philly are liberal, small and usually don't lead to anything more" which may arguably be the case in most instances.

The problem stems from the failure to realize our own potential in shaping things through participation, through actually making things happen. If things are going to be done they must be done with a sense of tact. Success in action builds trust, and appeals to those who have the same

desires. Know that even if an action holds the spirit of insurrection, if not executed properly it will fail to resonate beyond the participants themselves and even then participants could be discouraged by easily avoidable failures. Maybe this is part of what has happened here. A few failures to connect, and a few more shady call-outs with no direction in mind could have meant a few steps back. A lesson learned is more effective when moving forward as opposed to when remaining stagnant after the fact. Since then we have seen people attempting to break this silence, which shows a few positive steps, but it isn't enough.

Philly Anti-Capitalist  
August 12th, 2015

# CONFLICT IN MINNEAPOLIS TERRORISM AND CIVIL WAR

SUBMITTED TO IT'S GOING DOWN - NOVEMBER 26TH, 2015

The night of the 23rd, white supremacists shot at people who chased them out of the 4th Precinct occupation in Minneapolis. Later that night, on the advice of a friend, I wrote the following:

*When they walked up to the precinct, they acted off. Aloof. One was taking video. There's no way to easily describe their demeanor but it was certainly hostile. I whispered to the people next to me that I thought those were the white supremacists but I didn't know for sure. I approached behind perhaps a dozen others to confront them. I picked up a stick of firewood, to use as a bat if it came to that. People asked them what they were about. One said they were here for Jamar. I could have sworn he stuttered as he looked at one of the banners hung next to him to make sure he said the right name. The one filming said they were trying to spread the cause. People didn't buy it. Some folks were being physically restrained by others. One in an SEIU hat held back the crowd. We were not allowed to be the aggressors against this group that had been peaceful. The four had their hands up in surrender and were pressed up against the fence when they decided to leave. People followed. Most people were willing to throw down, but some yelled for calm. One of the four got socked in the face. Most people stopped a quarter of the way up*

*the block, where you could still see the precinct through the parking lot on the corner. I wanted to follow and maybe get their plates. I walked up the block, but others run ahead of me. Then. POP POP POP POP POP. I don't know what it is at first. But then I see the muzzle flash. Then I hear it whiz by me. Then I duck, lunging behind the closest car for cover. This is the same move I made last week one block away when the cops shot less-lethal rounds at us. But these weren't. While dodging behind cars, I hear someone scream for help. I call out for folks to help them, then I run back to the camp.*

After the shooting, one primary reaction was for it to be labelled terrorism. And that's understandable, from a certain point of view. Making it clear that what the state does and doesn't call terror shows that it's completely political in nature. Terrorism is defined by how it is used, which is as an instrument of the state. That which is terrorism is that which threatens the state's power. This would explain why white supremacist attacks are not met with the same level of repression, especially compared to anti-police rebellion. Most of the time, however, people remain simply indignant on the double-standards of the word's use. Some even appear desperate that the state recognize them, with

the seemingly endless calls for the government, as well as the media, to use the word terrorism to describe the attack.

The "protest leadership" in Minneapolis—the NAACP, the Black Lives Matter leaders, non-profit NOC with Democratic party ties, with a significant amount of overlap between these groups—has reacted to the shooting the same way the state reacts to terrorism. The calls for unity, the security measures that are supposed to keep us safe but actually do just the opposite. For example, it's been called for that people are not supposed to wear masks anymore at the 4th Precinct. But wearing masks is a way to hide one's identity from the police and surveillance apparatus, which is crucial to any serious form of resistance. Of course, we know that the leadership is dedicated to making sure that no resistance ever becomes serious. People are quick to point out potential "agitators" or "troublemakers" for expulsion with little evidence. This is clearly a police operation designed to remove militants under the guise of protecting the camp from white supremacists.

If it's not terrorism, then what is it? Civil war. There is not a ninety nine percent of us that needs to be enlightened by the proper literature

or media coverage, there are people who want to uphold white supremacy and those who want to destroy it. And on the night of the 23rd, those two groups came together to experience conflict, only attenuated

by the self-designated marshals restraining people. On the night of the 24th, there was another shooting by suspected white supremacists as well, but this time someone returned fire. As conflict across the world es-

calates, this will happen more and more. And it's certainly not glamorous; if there's one thing I learned from almost getting shot, it's that I'd prefer not to do it again. But I'm not sure that's going to be an option.

## On Throwing Rocks: Thoughts on the Demonstration at the 4th Precinct in Minneapolis on November 18th *Excerpt*

When activists declare that the stone throwing was merely a reaction to the violence of the police and assure the media that it was quickly quelled, they rob the event of its plurality and exclude those "who don't get it," who "were raised differently," or who "strongly reacted." It doesn't matter what race the person is saying it is, this is colonial logic that de facto excludes any form of resistance that doesn't appeal to the police, the state, and the media. It implicitly, through its own violent exclusion of the resistance of others, supports the world as it is. It is reactionary. "In its simplest form this nonviolence signifies to the intellectual and economic elite of the colonized country that the bourgeoisie has the same interests as they." (Frantz Fanon) And when they declare that this violence will only provoke the police into attacking us (or even imply that those hit with marking bullets brought it upon themselves) this legitimizes the violence of the police, while

delegitimizing the violence of the kids throwing bottles. Thus, again, activists show themselves to be doing the work of the police.

What is forgotten every time a well-meaning activist calls for peace in the face of rock throwing at a demonstration is that they are deciding, again, that they are the ones who get to define what violence is and where it begins. For them, disrupting a highway is not violence, but throwing a bottle is violence; blocking police inside their station (physically stopping bodies' ability to move) is nonviolent, whereas slashing tires is violent; and, of course, physically and verbally excluding those who have a different idea of what violence is, in the most spectacular reversal yet, not violence, but telling a cop you'll "beat his ass right now" is violent. Later, the activists play hero because of their own "bravery in the face of arrest or police violence" while again imploring those who also took risks by throwing stones (but

perhaps didn't want to throw their bodies into an ineffective gesture), to "stop their violence." Again, the enlightened elite—the religious leaders, activists, and intellectuals—both black and white, know what's best for people who just don't understand what needs to happen. They don't get it that their real solution won't come from self-determined revolt, but from [Insert here: Appeals to the media/Peaceful demonstration/Socialism/Anarchism/Pan-Africanism/martyrdom].

This is not a call for unrestrained and random violence. This is not a call from a hardened militant. This is a call to respect the diversity of tactics, and the self-determinate violence that already exists on the streets, to the shame of the professional activists. This is a call for plurality and coordination in a decisive time.

# **AGAINST THE CHARGES AGAINST THE COPS AGAINST THE NAZIS**

## **UPDATE FROM THE STRUGGLE IN OLYMPIA, WA**

SUBMITTED TO IT'S GOING DOWN - SEPTEMBER 8TH, 2015

### **SUNDAY, AUGUST 30TH:**

In anticipation of the coming week, the city is covered in anti-police graffiti and posters, most prevalent is the statement: No Cops, No Charges.

### **WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2ND:**

At a 2pm press conference, Thurston County Prosecutor/Pig Fucker Jon Tunheim announces that the state will stand behind their little piglet Officer Ryan Donald, who in the early morning of May 21st shot two unarmed black men. The men, Andre and Bryson Chaplin allegedly tried to defend themselves with skateboards after fleeing from an attempted shoplifting. The pigs, their masters and their cheerleaders decry these young men as "criminal thugs" in a thinly veiled racism. To add insult to injury (multiple gunshot wounds to be specific) not only is the state NOT charging the cop, but prosecutors announced they in fact will be charging Andre and Bryson for assaulting the Officer. At the end of the news conference protesters chant "Fire Officer Donald!"

The reason for this outrageous yet predictable decision is clear to us. The state is more interested in protecting property than it is in our very lives and in the lives of black people in particular.

In this light, we believe it becomes easier to understand why a lone pig would have plenty of incentive to attempt to murder two young black men to protect a case of beer. That case of beer can be interpreted as a representation of the property relations upon which this entire society is built. The shooting is just an extension of the racist violence which is integral to its maintenance. And in the words of scumbag Tunheim, "A police officer really can not afford to lose that fight, to just put it bluntly." Whether these men are guilty or not is irrelevant to us because we don't accept the law. The law upholds structural white supremacy and capitalist exploitation. Therefore the police, who are so willing to murder us in the interest of defending this social order and enforcing this law, must be fought. The racist system which values a case of beer more than two young lives needs to be destroyed, by any means necessary. Fuck the law.

### **THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3RD:**

Hundreds rally at a speak out to protest the state's decision and demand justice for Andre and Bryson. During rush hour a small group barricades a main intersection with caution tape and chain link fencing,

taken from a new condo development being built downtown. The group then marches chanting "Black Lives Matter/Blue Lives Murder" and proceeds to block off another major intersection downtown for several hours while, nearby, black participants speak to the larger rally, sharing experiences of racism and police violence at the speak out.

Later in the evening, an old Ford truck recognized as a vehicle used by Neo-Nazis (often flying a Confederate flag), is sighted as it slowly and menacingly drives past a group of anti-racists gathering downtown. The group reacts quickly to the truck's presence, and a rowdy, mostly masked group takes to the streets, pursuing the vehicle with pipes and bats in hand, chasing the truck off. As the group is pursuing the vehicle into the industrial areas near downtown, an OPD SUV speeds up to drive between the group and the fascists. The chant, "OPD, ON THE ATTACK, WHILE THE NAZIS HAVE THEIR BACK" cuts both ways, clearly. The group then continues marching through downtown Olympia, blocking traffic with debris, lighting off fireworks and tagging a cop car and the police station with "ACAB" (all cops are bastards) as well as writing "No Cops No Charges ACAB" on a statue in front

of City Hall.

It is believed that the Nazis identified in the Ford truck, later smash the windshield of a comrades car.

Throughout the day, flyers are distributed promoting a Saturday march demanding "No charges against Andre and Bryson. No cops on our streets."

#### **FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4TH:**

Word circulates that Neo-Nazis are planning another rally in defense of the police the following evening. Either as a response to Saturday's planned anti-police march or by coincidence, they proclaim their racist and paranoid intentions to "DEFEND THE NORTHWEST AGAINST THE LEFTIST SCUM AND THEIR JEWISH MANAGEMENT". Online they tellingly claim the states decision to not prosecute Donald as a "small victory" for white-supremacists. The call is posted on a fascist internet forum by known bonehead Jascha Manny. This is the same Nazi who led the rally on May 30th, when he and about ten of his racist friends were beaten down and chased out of town by a mob of armed anti-fascists.

This time Jascha promises he's "EXPECTING A TURNOUT OF AT LEAST 100!!!" but after their prior humiliating defeat it is doubtful that anyone will heed the call. Still anti-fascists rally to once again defend Olympia from the threat of a Nazi convergence.

#### **SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5TH:**

By nightfall 50-60 anarchists and antifascists are assembled to drive the fascists out of our city once again. The group takes the street chanting "Nazis out of Oly/Fuck the police" and shoots off fire crackers. Rounds are made through downtown but

if any Nazis showed up, they are careful to stay hidden. One man in a white truck tries to drive through the crowd and when asked if he likes the Nazis, responds "Yeah, I love Nazis!" and has his window broken. A man on a motorcycle with a confederate flag is stopped as people try to remove the flag from the bike. He

pulls out a baton and a fight ensues. At the end of the scuffle the flag is burned in the street and the man is taken away in an ambulance. If the June 17th mass-shooting in Charleston, SC didn't make it clear once and for all, the confederate flag is a symbol of hate and should not be tolerated. Although white entitlement may

## **Thoughts From A Black Anarchist On The Lack Of Momentum In Olympia** *Excerpt*

A huge problem that I have seen is that we let liberals steal our momentum, they talk all kinds of shit and for one reason or another we just freeze. Ultimately, actions need to be taken whether others like it or not, we can't wait for liberals to call for actions and just tag along, it is imperative that we be able to mobilize a force around issues ourselves, and not just issues that we have as Anarchists; like issues against the police or against the nazis. I feel it's important to cultivate the ability and be willing to mobilize a force to affirm things like #BlackLivesMatter. I'm of the opinion that we should be constantly cultivating relationships, both with our fellow Anarchists and with those who are not Anarchists, to be able to mobilize these forces.

I understand that affinity is a huge Anarchist concept and it's only natural that we would get together and organize with people we have affinity for, but there's a point where it seems to become very "clickish" and we don't go outside these groups and get together with our fellow Anarchists or

go outside the Anarchist scene at all. All I'm saying is that we have taken very little or no steps at all towards building sustainable communities of resistance that can handle large and short notice mobilizations and can bring a force to bear against the state. I firmly believe the biggest step we can take towards that is to reach outside of our small groups and link up with other Anarchists and with other people in general.

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So yeah, for one night, one beautiful, amazing night we had unity, we had rage, we had solidarity, we came together and we smashed fascists and ran them out of town. Yet two black kids remain shot in the back, one paralyzed from the waist down, no police accountability and with things in disarray, how do we bring the momentum back? How do we utilize our rage? How do we create solidarity? How do we build community? How can we keep it cemented in our hearts that most definitely BlackLivesMatter?

Puget Sound Anarchists  
June 29th, 2015

not want to give up this emblem of “The good ol’ days” (which most associate with the pain of segregation, slavery and white terrorism), anyone who flies the confederate flag should expect to be confronted as a racist. This particular “rebel” learns this the hard way. Two American flags hanging from light posts are also taken down and destroyed.

As some suspected, the fascists don’t show for their promised rematch. Their call to arms ended with a desperate attempt to guilt other white supremacists in the region to show. It whimpered “Because if you’re not there this time, you might as well hang up your boots now...” Well, time to hang up those boots. Your hateful ideology has no place on these streets.

As the night progresses it seems that the lines between the anti-fascist rally and the scheduled anti-police march are blurry if they exist at all. One seems to meld into the other. Perhaps it is common knowledge among participants that white supremacy must be fought on all fronts. The group is heard chanting “Cops and Klan/Hand in hand” and “We want revenge” before attacking City Hall and the Police Station with bats, rocks and paint bombs, leaving its plate-glass windows splattered with red paint and spider-webbed with broken glass.

The police use pepper spray and shoot pepper balls in an attempt to disperse the crowd. The march stays together for another few blocks, where people disperse safely. No arrests are made.

Olympia Police later report on social media “We try to stay pretty positive with our Instagram posts however we wanted to share with you what OPD is dealing with regarding the protests. Last night approximately

50 protesters marched the streets of downtown Olympia masked up and dressed in all black carrying weapons ranging from baseball bats to sticks to socks with rocks in them... At one point the protesters turned towards a patrol vehicle that was blocking traffic and started swinging bats while approaching it. Later, we received word that the protesters assaulted a man on a motorcycle and was (sic) beating him with a bat. While we responded to the victim the protesters continued on to City Hall and proceeded to use their weapons to break multiple windows and vandalize the building and patrol vehicles.”

## SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 6TH:

A hundred people march through Olympia in what is called a “March for Mothers” to show solidarity with the many families that have suffered at the hands of police violence and racism. They leave flowers behind the caution tape outside of the recently trashed city hall and place a sign reading “Justice must be served” in front of the boarded up entrance.

Tuesday, September 8th:

15-20 people occupy Thurston County Prosecutor Jon Tunheim’s office, disrupting the mornings proceedings of business as usual. Protesters tape signs up in the office declaring “Black lives matter” and “Drop the charges” and chant “Justice for Andre and Bryson”. The office employees and police are hands off in handling the disruption, perhaps in recognition of the volatility surrounding its recent decision and in an effort to avoid escalation.

## CONCLUSION:

There has been a powerful community reaction to this shooting and a broad diversity of tactics in how we have responded together. We see all

of these gestures of support and solidarity as valuable in the fight against systemic racism and brutality. We seek to foster the mutual respect and collaboration necessary to become a real threat to those in power. We embrace all those who are active in this movement, not to advance their careers, and not to power monger for political legitimacy and control, but to do whatever is necessary to make sure that this doesn’t happen again.

A flyer distributed this week titled “Freedom Everywhere! Police Nowhere!” articulates our feelings well when it says “It must be made politically impossible for the city to prosecute Andre and Bryson.” This is a goal we can only achieve together. It continues “Our rage and rebellion is our weapon against this hellworld. Fuck the police, here and everywhere. The city council will never make this a safe place for any of us to live. There is no safety in a world with police.

As the state continues to prove it was never there for us, we seek to recover ways of supporting each other. The economy continues to keep us chained to varying levels of misery. The city does nothing to protect any of us from white supremacists, and in fact often hires them to its police force. Events of the last few months in Olympia have shown us that we can care for one another better than the state ever could. Who has supported the Chaplin family? Who ran Nazi bigots out of town? Who continues to keep our spirits up while every day new names of those killed by cops cross our Facebook and Twitter feeds? No candidate or institution will ever provide for us what we provide for each other.”

Fuck the Police forever.

- Some Olympia anarchists

# CHOOSING SIDES FROM OLYMPIA TO CHARLESTON

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED BY IT'S GOING DOWN - JUNE 25TH, 2015

Just as the city name of Ferguson has become shorthand for police murder, the city name of Charleston has become synonymous with white supremacist violence. As we all know, a young white man attended service at the African Methodist Episcopal church in Charleston, SC before unleashing a barrage of gunfire, killing 9 black people. As if further proof of their right-wing ideology was necessary, it was later discovered that the shooter had photos wearing patches of an apartheid-era South African flag, and other white supremacist imagery. This shooting has drawn a national outcry, but it is only a particularly visible manifestation of a war that continues daily.

White supremacy is the cornerstone of America, fundamental to the social order and the fuel of capitalism. The social order wages war against the populace, a war that manifests itself in countless ways. This war is only maintained through a careful process of concealment, by hiding it from the very people it wars against. So much of it has become familiar, inconspicuous, by how deeply embedded it is in our lives. The hostage situation of capitalism, work, rent, and the systematic imprisonment of black and brown bodies for use as laborers, etc. The shooting in Charleston has momentarily lifted the curtain on this massive operation and exposed it for what it truly is, even if some do not grasp its magnitude. Let us back up a bit, briefly. About a month before the name Charleston was on anybody's lips, Olympia

police shot two young black men for attempting to shoplift beer. Very quickly, anti-police demonstrations flared up, but encountered something increasingly common: their enemies in the street were not only the police, but white supremacist vigilantes. Several nazi skinheads had arrived as a 'counter-protest' in support of the police. This culminated in a large brawl on the night of May 30th, when a group of nazis were attacked by a crowd of several hundred with baseball bats, bricks and even a fire extinguisher. Anti-fascist patrols continued in the next days to make sure they did not return.

Just as in Ferguson in the summer of 2014, later that year in the Bay Area, and more recently in Baltimore, anti-police demonstrations have encouraged others to take the streets in support of the police, to preserve the status quo. Stores were guarded by property owners or their employees, and in some cases, people attended demonstrations for the sole purpose of maintaining law and order. Sometimes their presence was deterrent enough, other times it led to fights breaking out in the street. For instance, people interfering with the looting of stores or the construction of make-shift barricades were fought off in the streets of Oakland and Berkeley. Fights broke out in Baltimore between bar-goers and demonstrators, while Orioles fans prepared themselves with baseball bats.

During these moments of rupture,

when the veil disguising this war waged against us is lifted and people take action against it, it forces bystanders to choose sides. There are those who wish to preserve things continuing as they are—white supremacy untouched, capitalism functioning smoothly, even with superficial modifications—and those who want the destruction of these forces. Just one day after the shooting in Charleston, a man was seen riding the ferry in Seattle wearing a red armband with a swastika. Numerous rallies in support of the use of the Confederate flag have also taken place in the past few days. These are people choosing a side—the side of white supremacy.

On the other hand, not everyone has taken *that* side. Since the Charleston shooting, a number of vandalism attacks have taken on historic statues from the Confederacy in the South. Each morning, another story appears about a statue that has been defaced with the slogan "Black Lives Matter," or otherwise indicated the racist history embodied by it. This has spread as far as Baltimore to Austin, by way of St. Louis, and of course, Charleston itself in just a matter of days. This goes to show how incredibly easy the tactic of graffiti is to reproduce.

However, the controversy around the Confederate flag and statues from that period only obscure the true problem at hand. We shouldn't concern ourselves with superficial symbols of a past era of white supremacy, but with the mechanisms

through which it functions today, and most importantly: sabotaging them. We must examine how power operates, not as an abstraction but as a material force, and find ways to destroy it, once and for all. During different upheavals across the United States and the world, people have found themselves standing on freeways, blocking trains and port terminals, looting what they need to survive, and setting fire to the infrastructure of their enemies.

There is not a population we need to convince, no masses that simply need to be educated, but sides that need to be taken. There is no dialog that needs to be had, or changed, but a complex system of social relations that take real, concrete forms and need to be smashed to bits. Only when we come to this conclusion can we begin to take on this project.

## **Neo Nazi Michael "Iron Balls" McArthur Doused In Urine** *Communiqué*

On July 29th, 2015, Michael "Iron balls" McArthur, a self proclaimed National Socialist from Berwyn, IL was greeted with a face full of raunchy antifa piss in front of his apartment. (3137 Oak Park Ave apt# 107) He has been let go from his Tarot Card reading at Cigars and Stripes and spends his time at the YMCA off Oak Park or the Berwyn Public Library. Fuck nazis!

South Side ARA  
August 6th, 2015

## **Ties That Bound: History As A Weapon Against White Supremacy** *Excerpt*

We live in a class divided society; of those that work and those that own, but we also live in one that is organized along lines of race. What is happening in the South today, as during the rebellions in Ferguson and elsewhere, is forcing many people to take a side in the struggle. Sadly however, as in much of American history, white supremacy pushes many poor and working-class whites into a position that supports the government and the power structure against people of color. The reasons for this go back to the brutal colonization of the Americas. The US, like other states in the "New World," was colonized and settled by a wide range of people. A volatile mix of indentured and waged European workers, displaced and enslaved Native Americans, and enslaved Africans formed a potential pool of insurgents with sometimes common enemies. It wasn't long before laws began to be passed that formerly set into law racial distinctions; from rules regarding intermarriage to the prohibition of African Americans owning firearms. In the South, white supremacy also came with physical benefits for whites, even poor and working-class ones. It allowed them access to politics, land-ownership, and also gave them dominion over blacks.

The slave patrols, which monitored black movement and tracked down runaway slaves (and lead to the creation of the modern police force) is a shining example. As W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, whiteness was a "physical and physiological wage."

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At times of instability and crisis, those on the far-right will attempt to maneuver and capitalize on already held prejudices within the population. Playing up fears of black revolt and support for 'Southern Heritage,' groups such as the KKK are mobilizing to expand their influence. But a look at the history of the Confederacy shows that support for it was never rock-solid or across the board – it fell apart as people realized the contradictions inherent within a system of exploitation, violence, and control. Furthermore, the resistance, escape, mutiny, and desertion of black slaves and white workers and soldiers showed that mass refusal can bring about a crisis within a massive system. And within such a crisis, people can attack power, property relations, and racial divisions; creating new forms of life and ways of sustaining themselves.

It's Going Down  
July 17th, 2015

# REPORT FROM ‘RUN THE KLAN OUT OF TOWN’ IN COLUMBIA, SC

FROM FINAL STRAW - JULY 20TH, 2015

Yesterday in Columbia SC the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan assembled in order to protest the removal of the Confederate flag from the state house. I’m told that their permit was originally set to accommodate 100-200 people. However, this pathetic organization has dwindled in numbers since its heyday in the 1920s, and there were fewer than 75 klan present at any given time. This event happened on the same day as an anti-colonial and antiracist event was held in Tuscon to protest an islamophobic and white supremacist group, and is happening in the wake of a resurgence of white supremacist rhetoric and actions in this country. People came out in droves and showed the racists that they are not welcome in Columbia, or anywhere! Despite the almost 100 degree weather and at least the 100 cops, paramilitary, and state troopers swarming the grounds, I’d say that there were at least 2,000 anti racists, anti-fascists, and community members present ranging from concerned clergy to the much maligned out of town anarchists of all races. I was in a group of caucasian folks and non black people of color, and it felt vibrantly good to show our faces in the midst of this crowd, which I’d say consisted primarily of black people of all ages and the remaining third were folks of other races. The solidarity in the crowd was palpable, with people starting conversations with strangers, helping others out with water, and looking out for each other in the face of police violence.

When I rolled up to the event, the

anti confederate flag counter rally on the other side of the state house was starting to wrap up. This seemed to be mostly made up of New Black Panther Party and Nation of Islam members. The KKK harassed these people with racial slurs when they themselves paraded up minutes later through a funnel of their cop protectors, brandishing confederate flags and Nazi swastikas and screaming “white power”.

They were instantly met with jeers and heckling from their numerous enemies, which reached such a pitch that it made one of the racists burst into tears. At one point, one racist got separated from his group and was surrounded by the crowd, which screamed at him to go the fuck home and things like that. One man got arrested at this point and carted off to the crowd yelling “let him go”.

The KKK then stood in the baking sun on the steps of the state house for about an hour. They roasted in the heat and waved their flags behind a phalanx of their pig handlers, all the while making pitiful attempts to engage the antiracist crowd, which had them outnumbered almost 27 to one. Some of their sympathizers who were dressed in confederate flag apparel were chased off the premises during this time, including one homophobic preacher and one Nazi peace police who was attempting to verbally shame people into leaving the racists alone. Several of the klan passed out from heatstroke during this time, including one old racist who had to be carried away by the cops wrapped up in a confederate

flag.

The police cut their flag waving rally short by an hour due to the numbers of antiracists, which were growing steadily. The real fun began when the klan began to move out to the parking garage where their vehicles were being guarded by even more police. The cops attempted to hoodwink the crowd into focusing on one exit of the garage, while the klan was exiting out of another around the back. When the crowd got wind of this, we took to the streets and ran around the building to confront the klan as they drove out of town. They mostly had their windows up, staring forward and looking beaten. One klansduke however became so enraged at the verbal attacks he was receiving that he drove his SUV into a pole, crushing the front end of the car which leaked radiator fluid all over the pavement. The cops were unprepared for this, and the car was surrounded by antiracists who pounded on the windows and hurled rocks at the damaged vehicle. The cops then forcibly surrounded the car and drove the antiracists back. Several people got detained briefly by the police and then violently unarrested by their comrades at this point. After about half an hour of tussling between cops and antiracists, a perimeter was established around the car and it drove away amid more heckling.

After this time the crowd marched back up to the state house, where the few remaining klan supporters were confronted and driven out of Columbia. I’m not sure how many

people got arrested, but I think it was at least 5 people, for disorderly conduct and assaulting an officer. I'd urge people to keep up with that news, and help with people's bail however they can. Since this happened on a Saturday, I think people should be out by Monday.

Throughout all of this, it seemed very clear that the crowd had pin-

pointed their real enemies as being the police. While people were mad about the klan they were even angrier at the cops for protecting these Nazi racist scum. The weak attempts by cop sympathizers on the AR side to focus the crowd's anger at solely the KKK were entirely unsuccessful. I think that this event will be one in a series of many active and vibrant

displays of anti racist and anti white supremacist actions in this country. I hope that people are staying safe and keeping their friends close.

Toward a world without racism, without police, without jail cells, and without the klan.

Solidarity from a comrade in Columbia, South Carolina.



## The New Neo-Nazis: How Matthew Heimbach Is Building A Racist Network Across The U.S. *Excerpt*

When Matthew Heimbach takes the stage, he always has a smile on his face, generally his shirt is tucked in or he wears a motorcycle-club like vest, and he starts his talks not with cries of "ZEEK HAIL!", but instead by telling you a little bit about himself. In an articulate and confident voice, Heimbach discusses how he came from a small Maryland town "without a traffic light," into the big city to attend college. But quickly his discussion treads into waters commonly discussed in white nationalist and fascist circles: notions of a large-scale Jewish

conspiracy, the extinction of a 'white race,' and the need for a revolutionary group to create an all white State.

Heimbach has clear links to white-power groups, but he represents a new breed of white nationalist that is different from the Klan, racist militia movement, and the Neo-Nazi skinheads that have dominated the racist Right for the last several decades. Although Heimbach is only in his mid-20s, he has become a leading light in the white racist scene which has grown under Obama's presidency and the continuing economic cri-

sis.

As evident in the recent Presidential run of billionaire Donald Trump who has campaigned on an anti-immigration platform, many white workers are disaffected with the current system and are swinging towards the Right. In many ways, white nationalists like Heimbach represent the *revolutionary* potential of this reactionary and racist shift that hopes to create a fascist government by seizing the reigns of this one.

# REFLECTIONS ON ‘SMASH THE HAMMERSKINS’ MARCH & SOME GREATER IMPLICATIONS

SUBMITTED TO IT’S GOING DOWN - DECEMBER 18TH, 2015

We showed up to Cal Anderson Park in Seattle just after the 5pm anti-fascist rally was set to begin. There were already hundreds of comrades gathered in the rainy evening, many in full black bloc and ready to fight. A number of people out that night were recently involved in the battles against Nazis in Olympia and although this experience gives us confidence, it also produces a feeling of dread that we are encountering an increase in fascist organizing. This raises some questions: Is there actually a greater presence of fascists in the area or are the long-standing fascists just newly emboldened? Is there a conscious effort to seize upon the racist and xenophobic atmosphere being fostered by the likes of Donald Trump and other opportunistic reactionaries? Or, are anarchists now just more aware of fascist activity?

Whatever the case, we’re becoming familiar with the nervousness and uncertainty of dealing with these extra-legal enemies, who are even less predictable than the police. Much of this anxiety was eased for me once I saw the huge crowd at the park. Upon seeing our side assembled, I felt confident that the Hammerskins who threatened to “show these liberals, anarchists, antifa and fags that we are here and here to stay” didn’t stand a chance. It seemed clear that the Nazi’s couldn’t have won a street confrontation, but the potential for them to resort to the kind of extreme

violence seen in Minneapolis in late November was, and continues to be, a terrifying reality.

We marched through Capitol Hill behind a banner reading “The Pacific Northwest United Against Fascism.” The demonstration was viably powerful, yet strange tensions presented themselves throughout the evening. There was the obvious (yet minor) tension between the pacifists and the more enthusiastic proponents of self-defense. There was also a tension between those who viewed the demonstration as a disruption to the functioning of the city (including the inconveniencing of the people stuck in traffic) and those who only wanted to run off the Nazis. Predictably, there were liberals who were against the Nazis but fine with the police. Yet the dynamic I found the most difficult that night was a sort of existential tension within the bloc itself.

It seemed difficult to balance between going on the offensive against the ordinary targets and practicing restraint so as to not provoke a police attack that could have caused a premature dispersal. In other words, we had to operate differently from the usual “hit as hard as possible for as long as possible and then disperse” model in order to prioritize sustaining our mobilization for the unknown amount of time necessary to oppose the Hammerskins, should they appear.

Despite what seemed like a general atmosphere of half-restraint, there

were still dispersed attacks on property throughout the night. Some condos were fittingly spray painted with the words “Smash White Supremacy,” an Amazon box truck was spray painted (and lightly looted), a news van was smashed, and probably more.

Also this tension of restraint meant that we generally didn’t engage with the racist murdering pigs before us. Hostility toward the police took a backseat to the Nazi threat. There was a bottle or insult thrown here and there but largely the crowd would not confront them. This was a dilemma. We had assembled this huge force of potentially liberatory violence and yet these enemies were hardly threatened at all. Was this restraint necessary?

Having attention detracted from attacking our enemies at hand, seems like a way that the far-right (sanctioned or not) acts in the interest of reinforcing the status-quo. They redirect revolutionary momentum into defensive activities. By representing the worst possible outcome of what a destabilization of the present order could result in (fascism), they terrify potential insurgents into resigned acceptance of the comparative security of the democratic state.

We should aim to be militantly anti-fascist while not allowing that to imply that we are pro-democracy. Anti-fascism is the lowest common denominator that brought us together that night but we should

work to show that the racist authoritarianism Nazis represent is not only a fascist phenomenon but also a pillar of our capitalist democracy.

The reality is that the state form doesn't matter so much as long as economic exploitation is operating efficiently. The more discipline the state needs to impose to maintain social peace, the more visibly brutal and authoritarian its operation becomes. One thing is consistent: At all costs, the rich and powerful must remain rich and powerful. Capital is God and the state—humanitarian or functionary—must serve it. Fascism is the emergency management plan of any state in crisis. Currently we are seeing its tenants gaining a renewed popularity as the liberal dream of progress can no longer offer solutions to fundamental and systemic problems.

After marching in the rain for three and a half hours, with no sign of the neo-Nazis, the size of the demo had dwindled and we regrouped in the park. From there most folks dispersed, although smaller groups remained on watch in the neighborhood into the night. Much like another recent call in Olympia, the Nazi march on Capitol Hill never happened. It is clear that despite what the recent national upsurge in far-right activity may imply, neo-Nazis have still not been able to gain a foothold in these streets. This raises the concern of whether other right-wing extremists, such as the armed militia groups who have been appearing at anti-immigrant rallies, will pose a greater threat in the long-run (both to the struggle for autonomy specifically but also to society in general).

Nationally, the climate has shifted since the uprising in Ferguson. White supremacy and the institutions that uphold it have been under attack by both social movement pressure and full-scale insurrections. Those who feel affinity with this social order are responding. From Charleston to Olympia, Minneapolis and Seattle, we are again seeing fascists and militant racists coming out of hiding. As the far-right attempts to re-consolidate into a more palatable populism, we must oppose them while not letting this dilute or detract from our revolutionary aspirations.



## **Now That It's Undeniable: Gentrification in Hamilton** *Excerpt*

Two years ago, even the arts industry fucks could claim, without feeling too dishonest, that they were creating something local and durable. Now we watch their flagship galleries and favourite restaurants close while condos going up on all sides: You were the footsoldiers of gentrification – don't say we didn't warn you. We are not interested in a conversation about what development should look like—development is not a conversation, it is an attack. ... Gentrification in Hamilton does not represent a change in the way

power works in this town. All that's happened is a central fact has been laid bare—that we never had control of our neighborhoods.

When urbanists talk about improving lives, they are usually talking about projects designed to mask the contradictions of capitalism and urban space: if we are to be a flexible workforce, at least let there be affordable transit so the commutes we have to make aren't too much of a burden...

But by ignoring the root of the problem, all these measures do is make the area a more com-

fortable one in which to be exploited. And once it becomes comfortable, you can be sure someone else will pay more to live here than we can...

What is the history of gentrification in Hamilton and what does it mean for us? Why are so many of the solutions offered to broke people so clearly bullshit? Who benefits from this process and who gets squeezed out? How can we dramatize the conflict over development in this town?

The Hamilton Institute  
July 13th, 2015

## **A Concerted Effort Against Gentrification** *Excerpt*

Gentrification affects our survival. Many of us are touched by it: our rents are increasing, the supermarkets and stores near us are becoming more expensive, the neighborhoods where we live are transforming into monotonous havens for students and the rich. Fighting against gentrification is fighting for our own livelihood, in solidarity with others doing the same.

The violence of gentrification gets normalized and often goes unnoticed, veiling itself in the language of "progress," "improvement," and "development". When we fight against gentrification, we reveal the already existing conflict gentrification has brought to our neighborhoods.

In Philadelphia, where the most dire impacts of gentrification most often result in the displacement of black people,

we believe that fighting "development" and "improvement" can easily be connected in both thought and action to the Black Lives Matter movement. The preservation of black life is not limited to protesting killings by vigilantes and police; the erosion of black life begins in so many daily abuses, many of which go hand in hand with the process of gentrification.

The anti-gentrification actions that have already taken place in Philadelphia have created a momentum outside of the institutional left (political parties, non-profits, etc). This autonomous momentum is the kind that empowers and emboldens those who take part, because it comes from groups and individuals deciding for themselves when and how to take action. Taking direct action allows us to realize our own power with-

out resorting to lobbying and asking permission. The momentum and tone set by previous actions against gentrification is worth furthering.

Gentrification is happening everywhere. It is impossible to ignore the changes taking place in South Philly, West Philly or North Philly. So many neighborhoods are effected, which means to us that there are so many opportunities for people to begin fighting back. If people are openly fighting against gentrification in multiple neighborhoods at once, resistance will be harder to control, forming links across the different geographies of the city. The widespread nature of development means that the possibility of an eruption of revolt is also widespread.

Philly Anti-Capitalist  
August 13th, 2015

# How Groups Across The US And Mexico Teamed Up To Get A Tenant's Money Back Excerpt

The Seattle Solidarity Network is a group based around the anarchist principles of direct action, mutual aid, and solidarity. They help fight against wage-theft, stolen deposits by landlords, harassment on the job, evictions, lock-outs of tenants, and other issues that working-class and poor people run into on a daily basis. Using a variety of tactics, the group attempts to hurt a boss or landlords bottom line: by costing them money. Some of their fights have led to strikes and mass pickets. Moreover, they work to bring together various social networks and people into the organizing, building up the confidence of everyday people to fight against the institutions and individuals which make their lives miserable. While SeaSol and other Solidarity Network type groups have been around for a while, when we heard that a recent SeaSol fight went national and then international, we had to know more. Hitting up our friends at SeaSol, they connected us to a member who sat down to talk about their recent fight against Greystar Real Estate Management.

\*

**IGD:** Can you talk about this latest campaign that ended up using groups in a variety of cities (and three countries) to win a victory? How did this campaign come about and what caused these people to contact Sea Sol?

**SeaSol:** So this fight came to our attention because the individual at the center of it had organized with SeaSol in the past (a great example of initial activity with SeaSol empowering somebody to stand up for themselves down the road!) When he went to his Greystar property manager to dispute the nearly \$600 in charges for

damages caused by their shitty plumbing, she smirked and told him he could hire a lawyer if he desired to which his reply was, "The lawyers are your friends, I will call my friends at SeaSol," which I think is pretty badass. The best part about working with this person was it wasn't just him, he got his husband, their friend who recently moved to the country and was staying with them, and his older father all involved as well. It was really powerful for me personally watching this entire family rally to use direct action to take back what was essentially stolen from them.

**IGD:** What strategy did Sea Sol use to fight this campaign? Why?

**SeaSol:** So when we began planning for this fight, it very quickly became clear just how large Greystar was. While this traditionally would be cause for concern or reservations about the fight, organizers saw this actually as a weakness. Rather than having just one building that they could easily get a no-contact or no-trespass order against us at, they had literally thousands of buildings from coast to coast and even in the UK and Mexico for us to target.

Postering has always been a first step for campaigns and this one was no different in that regard but given the size of Greystar, we decided to up the ante for our initial action. Since they came to the table so quickly to settle, we had no time to implement anything other than our postering campaign which while awesome, was a little bit of a let down for those working on other plans, haha. But victory for our friend at the center of the fight always comes first and ultimately it is their call on

how they want to settle. We can only encourage them to stick to their guns and were happy to see that this was the case in this particular fight.

One thing I really would like to say along those lines is that when they came to the table ready to settle with our friend, they initially offered to pay up "a week after a settlement is signed" to which we immediately declined, citing a complete lack of trust and goodwill from Greystar. Then, just a day or two later they came back saying they had the money ready and wanted to sit down. Our friend agreed to meet with them along with 2 other SeaSol members for support and we discussed tactics for the meeting the night prior. It was suggested by the group and accepted by our friend that he would sign no settlement that included a non-disclosure agreement or non-disparagement agreement because these would be tools that would silence us from being able to show others that Greystar can be beat and potentially leave our friend open to legal ramifications.

At the meeting, they still insisted on leaving that language in the settlement so our team simply got up and walked out. What happened next is my favorite part of the entire ordeal; Greystar's regional guy chased them down while striking out the bad language from the settlement and handed the check over.

One of SeaSol's principles when taking on and planning a fight is a chain of escalation. Right off the bat when we take on a fight, we sit and brainstorm a bevy of different tactics we could potentially use to win the fight and then try and rank them from weakest to strongest. The reasoning

here is that if we use our strongest tactics first and they don't budge yet on our demands, then we have completely hamstrung ourselves for the rest of the fight. By implementing the smaller actions first, we give them time to get really uncomfortable and a steady escalation of tactics gives the impression to them that we well organized and ready to go the distance. That's where the decision to begin with a poster campaign came from. We saw it as a way to grab their attention and then from there we could ratchet up the pressure on them with more intensive actions such as pickets/demos of properties during open houses and so on.

As far as the timeline goes, we began posterizing as soon as we hit a week after the demand delivery with no solution. We then spent the next 2 weeks ramping up the posterizing campaign as our comrades in other cities and countries began putting up posters. While the exact dates escape me, it was roughly a month from the demand delivery to when our friend was paid back.

**IGD:** How did you end up getting other groups from other cities involved in this campaign, how was this successful?

**SeaSol:** Our fight committee got together and went through every city that Greystar had a presence in and made a spreadsheet of every possible contact in those cities, whether it be IWW chapters, other SolNets, anarchist organizations, or even just individuals who we knew and trusted that would jump at a chance to help us out. It was really as simple as contacting folks in all these different places and providing them with posters that included the name and address of specific locations to print out and put in visible spots near each building. We asked people who agreed to help to send pictures for both agitprop pur-

poses and as a way of encouraging them to follow-through on their offers to assist us.

Just 2-4 posters per building across many of their holdings was clearly enough to raise the alarm and get the upper echelons of their management to contact one of the regional guys here in Seattle and say something along the lines of, "Look, make this problem go away or you will be personally held responsible." This leverage really helped ensure that our demands were met entirely on our terms.

Some of the participating cities included: *Philadelphia, USA, Boston, USA, Quincy, USA, Wenatchee, USA Santa Rosa, USA, Oakland, USA, London, UK, Mexico City, MEX, Monterey, MEX, Salt Lake City, USA and Minneapolis, USA*.



**IGD:** Some people that are critical of the Solidarity Network model state that it is basically street level social work. Also, that while these small victories are good for those involved, they either don't put out a radical critique of capitalist social relations, or don't end up changing anything on a wide scale. How would you respond to these criticisms?

**SeaSol:** Those are fair criticisms and ones I guess I can't really give an answer to beyond speaking as far as visions go. My personal vision of the role SolNets play and why they are important is twofold. For one, they are a great opportunity to get folks their first taste of an anti-capitalist critique and action. Along those same lines with our model of chain of escalation, it affords our potentially less-radical members a chance to see how more "palatable" actions often go ignored by those we are targeting and the need for more intensive and disruptive actions. Once they are bought into the fight, they are likely to be more open to those more

radical actions. This is aided by the fact that we aren't some mass movement operating under the pretense of "raising awareness" which opens up any action to Liberal handwringers calling for more PR friendly stuff.

Secondly, and I touched on this briefly, the SolNet model can be effective because of the network part of it. Our friend at the center of the last fight knew about SeaSol and came to us because he had worked with us in the past and helped with some fights years ago. That radical education never left him and as soon as some shitty property manager tried to take advantage of him and his family, he stood straight up to them and was enthusiastically ready to take the fight to them. He in turn imparted this upon his husband and father who as far as I know, had not engaged in that type of action before. It can really serve as an educational force to push folks leftward and beyond the awful paradigm most people (even and especially "progressives") find themselves trapped in.

SolNets aren't going to be changing the world, that much is true, but I see them as a potentially powerful educational and training force. Many of the people who cut their teeth so to speak with SolNets emerge from the experience having learned consensus-based organizing skills, a greater diversity of tactics and how to implement them, and gain some extremely firsthand critical insight into the inner workings of the capitalist class which can help shape their ideologies for the rest of their lives. Call me an optimist, sure, and yeah this certainly is not always the case but the potential is there and I think it is important that this is acknowledged.

# THE BLACK BLOC TAKES BACK THE STREETS OF MONTREAL

FROM MONTRÉAL COUNTER-INFO - DECEMBER 12TH, 2015

On the night of Wednesday December 9, a demonstration against austerity took the streets of Montreal, under the banner "Our Struggle Is Not Negotiable". Québec's public sector had held a general strike earlier the same day, and some union leaders have been supporting mobilizations on a scale not seen for decades in an effort to increase their bargaining power.

The callout read: We won't let ourselves be pacified by a sell-out agreement or by a special law. To the front: our struggle is non-negotiable, we won't back down. The night of December 9th, let's retake the street. Let's warm the city with our footsteps and our shouts!

A few dozen black flags were distributed throughout the burgeoning crowd. Upon taking the street and heading west on Maisonneuve avenue, those who were not masked from the get-go began to cover themselves up. Within minutes, most participants in the 200-person demonstration had concealed their identities, forming potentially the largest black bloc in Montreal since 2012. Our enemies in the mass media didn't even try to frame the destruction that unfolded as the work of outside agitators as they often do; the bloc was undeniably constitutive of the entire demo.

Early on, half a dozen people swarmed an obnoxious Québécois nationalist who shows up to nearly every demo and snatched away his Québec flag and sign, punching him in the throat when he tried to hold

on to his props.

Ten minutes into the demonstration, riot police formed a line to our front and right, at the intersection of Maisonneuve avenue and Saint-Dominique street, trying to funnel us south where they were preparing the same maneuver at Sainte-Dominique street and Sainte-Catherine street. Their strategy was clear: to contain us in the Quartier Latin and away from the prime targets in and around the business district, including the police headquarters. The crowd had the collective intelligence to not let the police determine our route, and reversed upon itself, heading east on Maisonneuve avenue. Masked groups were seen sharing rocks, and the crowd darted south through a parking lot and housing project courtyard to get onto Sainte-Catherine street, where the police had not had time to form new lines to restrict our movement.

What followed was a half hour of riotous cat-and-mouse in which the crowd stayed one step ahead of police control. A group of six bike police on Sainte-Catherine street who were naively approaching to flank the demonstration were attacked with a hail of rocks. Surges of excitement were felt in the crowd as the cops were struck with fear along with projectiles, and rapidly fled east out of view. It was on.

The demonstration made a sprint toward René-Lévesque Boulevard, while those further back chanted calls to stay close together. The demonstration took up all six lanes

on René-Lévesque, and looking around, our capacity for destruction appeared significant. The semi-armored units with plastic-bullet guns that typically march along each side of the demo were nowhere to be seen, having been blind-sided with volleys of rocks to the back of the head during the demo the week before. For a breathless twenty-minute stretch, the demo acted as a grand criminal conspiracy. Hammers, flag poles, rocks, and the removable metal garbage canisters on every street corner were used to smash the windows of Citizenship & Immigration Canada, construction conglomerate and defense contractor SNC-Lavalin, several banks, and other buildings. For a festive touch, people also wrecked the Christmas decorations assembled at office building entrances, and overturned SNC-Lavalin's Christmas tree. A few participants ran ahead and broke the back window of a police van with rocks, while others shot off some very large fireworks at the remaining vans positioned in front of the demo. Cheers erupted with the sound of every shattered window. Unknown accomplices could be seen searching for and sharing projectiles; when the demo passed a construction site, comrades ran ahead to find any materials that could be pillaged, and were successful in breaking up decorative stones along René-Lévesque into throwable chunks.

Police began shooting tear gas while trailing the demo to the east on René-Lévesque, using guns that can

fire each canister more than a block. At first, it wasn't successful in dispersing the demo because the crowd just moved west faster while staying relatively tight. The demonstration began to head north on University, smashing yet another Bank of Montreal window as it passed by. The demo split when faced with a cop car blocking a smaller street, but quickly managed to regroup with itself and responded by howling joyfully. At this point, the police continued to fire tear gas and the crowd had thinned to around 50 people. People began to disperse to the surrounding streets, while groups of police and vans continued to harass small groups of demonstrators walking along the sidewalks back to Berri Square. The Media reported one arrest of a minor for obstructing police work, but no charges related to the mayhem.

## MOVING FORWARD

Against one of the largest and most experienced riot policing squads in North America, those who took the streets on Wednesday decidedly swung the balance of forces in our favor, at least briefly.

We felt moved to write a reportback because we see a lot of potential in the determination and preparedness of the crowd, and have some further thoughts for how we might expand the scope of these moments, both quantitatively and qualitatively. For now, we offer a few notes on tactics which could expand the time and space of combative demonstrations. Ultimately, though, we want to escape the pattern of being successfully fought out of the streets after smashing a few windows and break with this routine of containment.

This could look like:

- Bringing rocks, fireworks, and tools along (if it feels safe) so that we

have fighting capacity right from the get-go and aren't completely dependent on scavenging for projectiles on the street.

- Barricades are our friends, and we don't give them enough love. Participants can fight behind them at stand-offs to prevent charging dispersals, and they also function to disrupt the city in our wake and make police maneuvers more difficult to coordinate. Establishing them behind the demo (ideally in a way that doesn't obstruct the movement of the demo itself) can also effectively block trailing police cars.

- Participants can scavenge materials for projectiles to share with the crowd in the time between confrontations, so that when the police inevitably come in harder, people are ready to respond effectively.

- The police cars trailing the demonstration and in front of it should consistently receive projectiles so they can't be within throwing distance.

- Bike cops or riot police should be forcefully prevented from flanking the sides of the demonstration. If necessary, participants can hold the sidewalks as well as the streets.

- On the 9th, many people were recording the events on their cell phones undisturbed. Ideally, we'd have a culture of explaining to people how this is harmful, and then proceeding to take action against them or their recording devices if necessary. We should note, however, that several independent media initiatives who regularly film at demos appear to have solid practices of not recording or publishing incriminating video. In a video posted to YouTube of Wednesday's demo, for instance, the camera pans up to avoid filming people destroying property, as the sound of glass shattering can

be heard.

- Tear gas eventually functioned to disperse the demos on both the 30th and the 9th, despite some efforts to throw back the canisters and prepare vinegar-soaked cloths. The main problem appeared to be panic spreading in the crowd, not necessarily the physical effects of tear gas. It is possible that more careful efforts to encourage people to stick together and proceed in an intelligent direction can continue diminishing the impacts of police weapons.

- Questions of discourse and propaganda: why, as anarchists, do we smash the city? How are these actions connected to austerity? How do our struggles exceed any reformist, demands-oriented focus? Though moments of conflictual action bring together many individuals with divergent perspectives and intentions, it would be interesting for participants to communicate their analyses in these moments of destruction. Smaller crews could come prepared and wheatpaste the streets with posters, put up graffiti, or throw flyers from within the demo or from higher-vantage points.

These ideas mean little on paper, but we look forward to the possibility of elaborating them together in the streets. Our hearts are warmed by the sparks that constitute our history of collective revolts, and the potential for these sparks to catch, because we desire nothing less than a city in ruins.

# HERE ARE THE CHILDREN OF RICARDO FLORES MAGÓN!

## INSURRECTIONS AGAINST THE ELECTIONS IN MEXICO

FROM CONTRA INFO - TRANSLATED BY IT'S GOING DOWN - SEPTEMBER 1ST, 2015

*What follows is chronology of actions that took place during "Black June," an anarchist initiative that was carried out during a much broader anti-electoral campaign across Mexico. These actions grew in intensity on June 7th, during the Mexican election. During clashes across Mexico which anarchists participated in, police killed, beat, and savagely attacked people. The revolts across Mexico against the election shows the degree in which support for the government is failing and how much people are willing to fight back.*

It is necessary to rethink our daily, individual, collective actions and our projectuality, understand the complex whole in what we are mixed up in, but what comes next? The need to propose new methods, tactics and strategies for the insurrectionary actions in the social war is the problem that we are always involved in, "The only way to internationalize the struggle for true independence and freedom is knowing the different local realities."

### CHRONOLOGY OF ACTIONS IN BLACK JUNE AND ELECTION BOYCOTT

**March 27th:** Incendiary attack against the offices of the National Electoral Institute in Puebla.

**April 9th:** A group of about 20 placed burning barricades at the College of Sciences and Humanities Atzcapozalco Federal District, placing blankets and burning tires in the streets.

**April 30th:** A group of about 20 comrades place barricades at the Faculty of Studies Acatlán, Mexico City, clashing with police for about 20 minutes.

**May 1st:** A group of 15 anarchists set fire to the headquarters of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in the city of Oaxaca, in solidarity with prisoners and Black June.

**May 21st:** A group of about 20 comrades place barricades at the College of Sciences and Humanities campus Vallejo, Mexico City, clashing with police for more than 10 minutes.

**May 21st:** Unknown group detonates explosive device in Tamaulipas on the premises of the National Electoral Institute and the offices of the Federal Police.

**May 22nd:** Graffiti slogans written in tribute to the fallen warrior in combat Mauricio Morales Duarte and Black June.

**June 1st:** In a coordinated action, anarchists detonated three explosive-incendiary devices in the city of Puebla. On the premises of the National Electoral Institute, the Ministry of Economy, and metro-bus station "University."

**June 1st:** Anarchists burn the office of Secretary of Social Development in Xalapa Veracruz. Graffiti is left saying "Down with capitalist development, Black June."

**June 1st:** a group of more than 30 hooligans set fire to the offices of the National Electoral Institute Vera Cruz in Xalapa, in broad daylight .

**June 3rd:** A group of 20 libertarians set up barricades at the intersection of City University in the city of Oaxaca, in solidarity with the prisoners and with the Black June. Expropriating trucks of multinational companies and attacking a bank Serfin .

**June 6th:** a group of companions set off an explosive device in the Department of Rural and Urban Agricultural Development, in solidarity with the prisoners and with the Black June.

### JUNE 7TH: CHIAPAS

In Tuxtla Gutierrez, Tapachula and San Cristobal de las Casas, people attacked the state headquarters of INE also took and gave away gasoline from stations as part of their actions.

### OAXACA

**Oaxaca City:** A group of 50 anarchists commander buses, burned ballot boxes and polling stations with the enraged people in the city of Oaxaca.

As the boycott and struggle sharpens, the conflict arises and there are several villages, settlements and neighborhoods that face directly off against the police and the military:

**Huajuapam Of Leon:** In a confrontation lasting over 6 hours, the village manages to defeat the military force and the police state, making the boycott effective.

**Huautla de Jiménez:** Residents erect barricades over a kilometer, shouting, "Here are children of Ri-

cardo Flores Magón!" and, "Long Live autonomy!" They prevent the passage of the military and police. The electoral boycott is achieved.

**Teotitlan de Flores Magón:** The people set up roadblocks and manage to run out the police and military making the boycott effective .

**Pinotepa Nacional:** The people burn polls and ballot boxes. The boycott is effective.

**Juchitan de Zaragoza:** The people burned the ballots and the ballot box, shots are fired at the state police and the military. The boycott becomes effective, police search homes and arrested more than 10 people.

**Alvaro Obregón:** The people along with fellow libertarians placed barricades at the entrances and prevent the passage of the polls, faced with paramilitaries there are 8 gunshot wounds, 2 seriously.

## GUERRERO

**Tixtla:** Villagers face state police in a confrontation over 3 hours, the boycott is effective.

**Tlapa de Comonfort:** Villagers

confronted the police most of the day, at night police enter the town where refugees are in a church and Antonio Vivar, young fighter is shot and killed by the federal police.

**Chilpancingo:** People turn out propaganda in an attempt to electoral boycott.

We counted more than 50 outbreaks of insurrection on June 7 as part of the electoral boycott, where communities, neighborhoods and mainly from the state of Oaxaca, Chiapas, Guerrero and Veracruz were those who dared to challenge the state showing its muscle through the police, military and paramilitary.

Consequences of the small insurrectionary period:

In a coordinated action early on June 5 between the bastards and murderers states of Puebla and Veracruz,

In Puebla 5 youth are detained, wanted on suspicion for bombings.

In Xalapa 8 youth are beaten and tortured by a paramilitary commando in cooperation with state police and civil force.

In Tlapa de Comonfort, Antonio Diaz Vivar receives 2 bullets from the federal police.

This is the beginning of something new, of the possibility of building new forms of horizontal relationships, creating something new that goes beyond ourselves, something solid that starts with the coordinating objectives, and that despite the different trends in the scene, we can articulate to the ongoing conflict in the anarchic, communal and collective insurrection.

That and more!

Make all months black!

Death to the state and long, very long live, anarchy!

From the land of José Luis Tlahuatlíe

August 31st

Territory occupied by the Mexican State



# AGENCY AGAINST PIPELINES

FROM WRECK - AUGUST 29TH, 2015

The twin institutions of capitalism and the state are two of the most insanely destructive projects that human beings have ever devised. At present, climate change is becoming more and more obvious to the average person and the misery of capitalism is ever deepening. Resources that the capitalist system uses to stay afloat are drying up, and it is now forced to go into the shale rock and sand for these energy resources. In so called "BC", we are seeing pipelines and refinery plants being pushed forward as a last ditch effort to keep the system running at its smooth pace in spite of economic and environmental catastrophe.

The resistance to these pipelines has been multi-form but also quite limited considering the vastness of the problem that must be tackled. We have seen non-violent civil disobedience play out on Burnaby Mountain in response to the Kinder Morgan pipeline expansion, which served as little more than a media spectacle. We have seen Secwepemc rebels take a more disruptive approach at the gatherings of CEO's and others with business interests related to pipeline infrastructure. Up north, we have seen traditional indigenous clan structures distance themselves from government band council structures, as a way to encourage their people to reclaim their culture and lands. All these among many others.

The Unist'ot'en clan of the Wet'suwet'en people have a camp that is blocking multiple pipelines. At present the camp is in a public discourse dispute with pipeline construction contractors and the RCMP. The pigs and corporations appear to be

setting up the case for an injunction of the land defense camp with the argument that they are disrupting the work that surveyors need to do. The camp is responding with the legal argument that they are enacting their traditional jurisdiction on their lands which they have never ceded to colonial and capitalist control. It is also significant that the camp is at a strategic pinch point of a bridge that crosses a river (Wedzin Kwah). The legacy of the 1990 Oka rebellion looms large in the minds of many as what can happen when indigenous people refuse to allow the state to walk over them. In recent history we have the inspiring resistance of the Mik'maq people and their warriors who defended their territories against fracking throughout 2013. Both these examples used violent self defense, disruption of the economy, local community involvement and the Mik'maq struggle used some sabotage. The most important difference of all between these struggles and the Unist'ot'en camp is the lack of a larger involvement of their own people from nearby communities. The camp has instead preferred a strategy of parachuting activists in from other places. This is not to put down our comrades but to point out to all who do not seem to recognize it, that different strategies will have different outcomes, just as different indigenous peoples have different social dynamics at play.

Modern day resistance movements have a tendency to romanticize struggles that they see as the most legitimate. In so called "Canada" this usually takes the form of support or "indigenous solidarity" to the initiatives of indigenous people.

On the west coast a great deal of energy has been put into support for the Unist'ot'en camp. The best way that many have been able to respond to the tense situation up north is fundraising for legal defense and infrastructure at the camp, as well as trying to get "bodies" up there for "arrestability" in case of an attempted removal by police. These attempts, while understandable, will not stop the pipelines. The struggle must be diffuse, but instead we have all thrown our eggs in one basket with the unrealistic expectation that someone will stop the pipelines for us. We have done a disservice to our indigenous comrades by placing the brunt of action against pipelines on their shoulders. Anarchists are also guilty of this, but we are not alone in exhibiting this problematic dynamic. Often the justification for such a position is that of "taking leadership". A tragic lack of clarity as to what exactly "leadership" means has left many hands tied, and the "safest" way to continue is seen as renouncing one's agency.

Those of us that acknowledge that the current context of capitalist exploitation will deepen the misery of most of us, must find more creative ways to relate to struggle. Queers, POC's, anarchists, trans people, students, all the many others, and all of our wider networks that do not easily fit into only one or even any of these categories must struggle on our own terms.

There are an infinite variety of ways in which we can begin to do this, here are a few possible examples:

## **EXPAND THE TERRAIN OF STRUGGLE**

When something like the Burnaby Mountain camp, or a large demonstration, or potentially even a new project of exploitation presents itself, we can get together with people that we know and trust and discuss ways to respond. From these groups we can engage in a critical manner with others in the struggle while building our capacity to act in our own groups (potentially in coordination with others). We can bring the energy of groups rather than passive spectators to anything that may be happening. Sometimes the best support that one can give is creating new fronts for the enemy to defend, and participants for them to be weary of.

## **PRACTICE AUTONOMY**

It is all well and good not to want to overstep ones boundaries when it may be limiting to others. Contrary to what many believe though, the best way to limit others can actually be to follow along passively. Again, with small or large groups of trusted comrades, various actions can be taken which will build our experience, and analysis through that experience will do a great deal more than just “shutting up”. It can be a great learning experience or it can be a complete waste of time to listen to others in a social movement. A practice of autonomy as groups or individuals means setting our own standards and thereby strengthening another’s as long as we have a common trajectory.

## **BUILD AND CHALLENGE YOUR RELATIONSHIPS**

Many of us exist within social scenes and many of us have diffuse networks of people with some kind of common interest. There are many

relationships such as within families where it can be far more difficult and in fact impossible for some to turn in a subversive direction. However there are a variety of relationships that many of us allow to stagnate, often due to social insecurity, which have infinite potential to threaten the powers that threaten us all. We must be in search of deeper affinities with those around us. This can come from supporting each other emotionally, but all too often this is separated from challenging internal power dynamics, social mores and ideologies which prevent us from being strong together. Being hip, cool, popular, self-righteous, intentionally nerdy, or wallowing in your insecurity will only get you so far, and will do little to build relationships of trust. Challenge your friends to fight and to keep on fighting, support them in their fights, and remind them if they are leaving a city or wherever a struggle is happening that they can try to find other ways to keep up the fight.

## **GET OUTSIDE YOUR COMFORT ZONE (CALLING YOU ON YOUR COP-OUT)**

We all have our comfort zones, and these zones are ever changing. Those of us who have been around for even a short period of time know what to expect from a workshop or panel discussion. Try forming your own ideas and reading revolutionary writings from a lot of perspectives. Beyond that, try applying the lessons you learn from books or through word of mouth to things happening on the ground and try finding others in a similar place with the intention of turning ideas into action – self-organized action. Don’t wait for others to rally you to some cause, waiting is as addictive as crack, break the habit. Also, I feel there is a disgusting level

of infantilization, victimization and self-righteous posturing swirling around social movements and scenes these days. We all have our boogymen as well as legitimate grievances with others. But all too often we use these as an easy-out for disengagement with the principles and tensions we claim to hold dear. There is also a vast difference between being unsafe and uncomfortable. Life is full of both discomfort and danger. The western political morality of guaranteed rights and free speech that seems to have seeped into everyone’s brains has meant that “de-colonization” has become associated only with “speaking out”, and rebellion against a social order that was founded upon genocide is somehow expected to be “safe”. This does not mean that I expect us all to be robotic, emotionless martyrs but that we might want to practice a little bit more courage than we’ve been showing.

*“Anti-oppression, civil rights, and de-colonization struggles clearly reveal that if resistance is even slightly effective, the people who struggle are in danger. The choice is not between danger and safety, but between the uncertain dangers of revolt and the certainty of continued violence, deprivation, and death.”*

– Escalating Identity, “Who Is Oakland”

# THE PARTIES OVER: IF WE'RE NOT GOING TO FIGHT FOR QUEER SPACE WE MAY AS WELL GO BACK TO THE VILLAGE

FROM MONTRÉAL COUNTER-INFO - AUGUST 28TH, 2015

*The following flyer was distributed during the Trans March of Pervers/Cité (the “radical queer pride”) which had its route approved by the SPVM:*

In the last two weekends in Montreal, two of the summer’s bigger queer parties have been shut down by the police (July 18th Cousins and July 25th fundraiser party for perverse/cite). In the first case, a large number of filth conducted an operation against La Vitrola forcing the organizers to finish the party and violently dispersing partygoers – there were numerous beatings and several arrests. In the second case (perverse/cite), one car with two officers successfully ended the fun by threatening people with individual tickets; the response by queers at the party was dismal, lacked solidarity, and in the writers of this article’s opinion was ‘unqueer’ (we’ll explain what we mean by this later). Despite the efforts of some agitators to hand out face masks, the party was swiftly shut down and people drifted off into the night. These attacks by police are only one of many forms of violence against queers, but they are one of the most easy to fight back against since they are attacks on large groups of people; if we take collective action, we can resist and we can win. Below are some reasons why we cannot sit back and let these things happen, we hope they will encourage you to take a mask next time someone offers you one.

## PREMISE 1: YOU HAVE TO TAKE WHAT YOU NEED BY FORCE.

Repression is nothing new to the queer community, but inaction in the face of State violence has never been and should not become the legacy of our milieu. From the historical battles of Compton’s Cafe riot and the Bash Back blocks at the Republican and Democrat conferences to the contemporary struggles of Washington DC’s ‘Check It’ “gang” and the so called “Gully Queens”, LGBTQ+ people have a rich history of self defense, collective action, and militant antagonism against the State and those who would commit violence against us. We should feel honored to have and obligated to defend this legacy. More than that though, we see in these struggles, riots, and defenses of space the acquisition by queers of greater protection, better material conditions and more fulfilled existences; without these struggles we would be even more vulnerable to violent transgressions, have less/no access to hormones, and would be unlikely to have a Queer Milieu to exist in. If we don’t continue to struggle against police incursions into our space, we will lose what little we do have.

## PREMISE 2: BEING “ANTI OPPRESSION” MEANS FIGHTING THE POLICE.

Montreal’s queer community appears on paper to be committed to “anti-oppressive” politics and “safer

space”; to this end, commitments towards changing our language, behaviors, and interactions with others are an important part of combating fucked up systems of oppression such as sexism, cisexism, trans-phobia, white supremacy, and classism, but personal behavioral changes cannot be the limit of our anti-oppressive politics. The gang known as the SPVM are one cornerstone of racist, classist, trans-phobic, and anti sexworker oppression within our city, maintaining social peace through violent repression, kidnap, murder, and theft. For many queers living here they pose a greater threat than someone getting our pronouns wrong or saying something trans-phobic. Especially if you are white, cis, middle class and/or not a sex worker, you have a duty to keep space safer by not letting the police enter, by refusing to allow them to interfere with events, and by actively interrupting their everyday activities. Standing quiet in the face of police attacks bolsters the arguments for “policing by consent”, makes individual police officers feel safer, and encourages cops to greater acts of violence against the most vulnerable people. To be anti-oppression means to be anti-the police; it might mean getting hurt or going to jail, but for many queers that’s already a reality whether they actively attack the police or not. If you leave a space as soon as the police arrive you are actively making that space more dangerous for other people. Sometimes

you might decide that's necessary for your own well-being, but most of the time it's safer for everyone to stick together. It's pretty hard for the pigs to arrest 200-300 party goes, but it's easy for them to arrest 20-30.

### PREMISE 3: QUEER AS A POSITION OF SOCIAL WAR<sup>1</sup>

Gender and sexuality are coercive and oppressive forces enacted upon us by society; without society, without social war, we wouldn't have the conceptions of gender and sexuality (and the roles that they enforce) that we do. To attack society's notions of gender and sexuality and attempt a radical transformation of them (i.e. to be Queer) is to choose to engage in a very specific front of social war; to draw a line in the sand and open hostilities with the rest of society. If queers stopped drawing this line, then they wouldn't be queer anymore; queer can't exist except as a negation of enforced genders and sexuality. If queer identity is assimilated into the social project then Queerness will become just another oppressive mechanism. Part of the police's role is to defend and protect normative articulations of gender and sexuality as well as to defend "society" at large; we are obligated by the definition of Queerness to actively engage in conflict with the police. In not fighting the police we are defending the existing paradigms of gender and sexuality and actively repressing Queerness.

### PREMISE 4: IT'S FUN!

Never mind getting drunk and

dancing till your feet hurt, the raw joy experienced by fellow combatants in street conflicts with the police is something your dealer wishes they could market! If being queer is about forming new kinds of exciting, strange, and meaningful interactions and social relations, then what could be more interesting, exciting and strange than actively dismantling the State hand in hand with your new date/s; than breaking windows together, dancing atop a ruined cop car and running away into the night to make joyous criminal love. We don't want to over-glamorize conflicts where friends get hurt, but fighting together and winning is one of the most exciting, joyous and liberating experiences these writers have ever had. Wouldn't it be fun to chase the pigs off streets that belong to us and turn the whole fucking road into a queer dance party?

This communique was written by "The Angry Trans Mob", we're a crew of trans people from different backgrounds, struggles, and experiences who see the need for the expansion of conflict between Montreal's queer milieu and the police/State/transphobes. We stand in solidarity with all those fighting to defend their communities (be those physical spaces/districts/towns or metaphysical ideas/identities/formations) from domination, attack, and destruction regardless of the weapons they choose to employ. We hope this communique inspires others to action.

And remember kids, 'dead cops can't kill!'

## SOME CLARIFICATIONS, THOUGHTS, AND RE-BUTTALS

\*When we talk of fighting, we want to clarify we don't think of fighting as inherently violent (not that we oppose violence) or necessarily as taking violent action (which we support). We think of fighting as anything from non-compliance, to staying close and solidaritous to prevent targeted arrests, to molotoving a police car; we don't think everyone should be prepared to do all of those things but we do think people should be prepared to support and enable them.

\*Space for us is not just a particular party or event, space extends physically and immaterially around and along any line that people call queer, from personal identity to physical locations. The milieu is a "space"; to this end we think that many "spaces" can occupy one location e.g. When defending a certain party from police incursion one is defending both the location and space of the party, but also queer space as concept, and milieu space as a formation. For these reasons, we think that the defense of every and any queer location (be that cousins, the queer book-fair, a sex party, etc.) is essential in order to maintain the concept of queer space which acts as a safety net for some of those most targeted by repression. An attack against a queer party is an attack against queerness; if enough parties are shut down the amount of space queerness occupies will be reduced.

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1. Social war refers to the conflicts waged everyday against our bodies by capitalism, the State, and the police, as well as by our friends, families, lovers, and ourselves. It is a way of describing the violence of all existing paradigms of reality/social relations and the struggles to change or destroy them. Positions within social war are constantly shifting insofar as individuals constantly, simultaneously and interchangeably embody the roles of oppressor and oppressed. Lines of conflict are drawn throughout physical and immaterial reality, and manifest as everything from the moment a doctor decides the gender of a newborn baby, to throwing bricks through the windows of a bank, to even the project of constructing the "human" subject.

\*We are against the discourse that certain Diasporas of people cannot engage in conflict because of oppressions they experience or dangers that they face. While we completely support any individual who feels they cannot engage due to issues of status, race, class, gender, etc., we think that narratives such “certain people can’t do x...” are often infantilizing, untrue, and patronizing. While we should never expect anyone to be prepared to act in a certain way (unless they want to), we should not presuppose people’s abilities for them; all over the world people in precarious situations struggle (often illegally) despite the cost that they might incur. It is just as true to say, for instance, that a demonstration which has been approved with

the police is likely to make people feel unsafe as one that is declared illegal – if you don’t know people’s personal histories, you don’t know whether seeing demonstration organizers collaborate with police might feel more unsafe than being at an illegal demonstration. Moreover, collaborating with the police because a demonstration is not likely to do illegal things or to make certain people feel safer may further isolate people whose lives and existences are inherently illegalized. The hierarchies of danger established by the milieu should be constantly contested and debated.

\*We reject the idea that violent resistance is inherently and exclusively white and male; we think this position is often used to delegitimize

tactics that don’t fit into certain people’s ideas of acceptability and is sexist and trans-misogynistic as well as historically inaccurate.

\*Although we firmly support self-identification, we reject postmodernism and the idea that anything can be called queer. We believe that queer is a positionality connected to other positionalites (such as race or class) and that there are certain limitations to what and who can be considered queer (just as a cis person cannot be trans, and a self identified trans person cannot be cis). For example, we think that a police office cannot be queer, because the role that they take in enforcing existing gender paradigms is contra queerness.

## Bloomington: Reportback From New Year's Eve Communique

*"Combative memory defines us as individuals taking a stand in our negation of the existent, forces us to push the memory of our fallen comrades beyond reflecting on how they were snatched from us, bringing them into our everyday lives in many forms and individual initiatives without giving in to resignation in the face of death or to oblivion. To bring new life to their insurgent lives, through actions, also to remind those who took their lives that the comrades live in each one of us and that we will always despise the role of those who chose to become defenders of the present system of dominion." – Nataly Casanova*

On New Year's Eve, about 20 individuals gathered in Bloomington, Indiana for a noise demonstration at the county jail. After brief discussion and preparation, as well as side-eyed glances and giggles from stumbling young people, the black-clad crowd walked a few

blocks to the jail to show our solidarity with those held inside its walls. Banners were unfurled, black flags flew, and words of solidarity were shouted. The response from those inside came almost immediately: pounding on the walls and windows of the building. Dozens of smoke bombs and fireworks were set off, their sound echoing through the streets and colors lighting up the night. Approaching midnight, a dumpster was rolled into the street and set on fire. Sparks and whistles from several fireworks joined the flames in the dumpster, noise from the prisoners, and cheers from us.

Seeing the lights of police cars, the group scattered. Police gave chase, threatening with tasers those running away. Unfortunately, one comrade was tackled and arrested. Facing a few misdemeanors, they were bailed out early the following morning and are recovering with help from their

friends.

We see this as a slight escalation of street activity in Bloomington, and an interrogation of how we relate to the BPD, who we often assume will remain relatively hands-off during demonstrations, but who nonetheless keep us largely passive.

Solidarity to all prison rebels and anarchist prisoners around the world. From Bloomington to Barcelona, from Montreal to Melbourne, from Santiago to São Paulo, from Montevideo to Minneapolis, from Alabama to Athens: struggle continues until all prisons and precincts are rubble at our feet!

*With the fires of anarchy in our eyes!*

*For a Black December!*

*For a Black New Year!*

# SPOTLIGHT ON CLEVELAND: TALKING POLICE & INSURGENCY WITH TOM NOMAD

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED BY IT'S GOING DOWN - OCTOBER 3RD, 2015

*Several months ago, Cleveland police attacked a crowd that attempted to unarrested a young teen outside of a Black Lives Matter conference. The resulting standoff highlighted increasing tensions in a city that had already been brewing with anger at the police following the murder of Tamir Rice and the acquittal of Michael Brelo, a 31 year-old white patrolman who stood atop the car of two unarmed African-American motorists and fired into their vehicle 15 times, after other officers had already riddled it with bullets. In this interview, author and anarchist strategist Tom Nomad discusses how the last few months in Cleveland have played out and the dynamics leading up to the upcoming Republican National Convention (RNC).*

**It's Going Down:** In July, police in Cleveland made the news pepper-spraying a crowd outside of the Black Lives Matter conference. What exactly went down? What was the reaction to the police? Did their reaction surprise you?

**Tom Nomad:** From what we have come to understand, and the videos are very difficult to decipher, a 14 year-old boy was hanging out in a bus stop along a strip that we call the Euclid Corridor, an area that runs down Euclid Ave between downtown and the area around E120th St.

From there, the incident began with the RTA (Cleveland Transit Authority) cops hassling this 14 year-old African American male at one of the stops on the Corridor, directly in front of Cleveland State University, where the conference was be-

ing held. It just happened that the proceedings of the conference were in the middle of a down time, and several attendees were hanging out outside of the building and saw the actions of the RTA cops. As people began to stream out of the building, crowds started to gather around the incident. With the gathering crowds, the cops on scene started to get agitated and confront the crowd, as they bundled the arrestee into the waiting police car. The situation escalated and people took over the street in both directions and stopped the cops from leaving the scene.

When the cops noticed that they had been surrounded they began to push into the crowd, which escalated the situation. Some of the people in the crowd convinced some of the participants in the action to back off from the cops, but not relinquish control of the street. It is at this moment that the cops began to pepper spray the crowd, spraying in all directions, hitting a number of people in the front, who were promptly evacuated to the back and subjected to an eye wash. This failed to actually push people from the street, and escalated the situation further. Someone in the crowd got the name of the arrestee and tracked down his parents, called them, and told them what was going on. An ambulance showed up and the arrestee was taken from the police car, uncuffed and put into the ambulance. When his parents showed up the EMTs released him to his parents and the situation deescalated, with the cops eventually leaving the scene.

This area has a reputation for confrontations exactly like this one. All down this strip the city evicted small businesses, and gave subsidies to a series of what they call "cornerstone businesses." Then they poured around \$2 billion into the strip down Euclid to build bus lanes down the middle of the street and install dozens of cameras, both on the poles above the stops and on the buildings lining the strip. The strip runs right through the middle of one of the poorest neighborhoods, Hough, in the whole city, and a neighborhood with a history of civil unrest. What has resulted from the Corridor project has been what essentially equates to a dead zone, an area that is heavily policed, that no one from the surrounding neighborhood really goes in to. When people from the neighborhood, or any people of color for that matter, go onto Euclid there is a high likelihood that they will be stopped, searched and detained for a period of time. It is in this situation that we have to understand what happened outside of the Black Lives Convening Conference. The other factor to keep in mind is that even though the Corridor is fully within Cleveland Police operational territory, it is also wholly patrolled by the Rapid Transit Police, the transit cops, who are under the control of the Rapid Transit Administration, and by extension under control of the county government. The RTA cops have a history of brutal responses to minor incidents. It is not rare to hear of the RTA cops tasering someone simply for jumping a turnstile or disobeying

their commands. With everything that has happened the RTA cops have largely escaped scrutiny until this past incident.

The police reaction to this incident is not surprising, for a couple primary reasons. The dynamic in Cleveland has changed after the demonstrations and confrontations with police following the Michael Brelo verdict. Brelo was on trial for his involvement in a police chase that resulted in a car being shot 137 times, and the death of both of the occupants of the vehicle. Brelo was specifically charged with jumping on the hood of the car, after the initial barrage was finished, and pumping a magazine and a half into the bodies of the driver and passenger. Before the verdict the tactics being employed by the police can be best described as passive containment, sitting back in a perimeter around a march, and allowing the action to generally burn itself out. Even early on, after the murder of Tamir Rice, when people were shutting down freeways and disrupting City Council meetings every week, there were no arrests, and a generally passive approach. The goal here was clear, to not allow for the situation to escalate out of their control and to channel all action into singular, controllable, spatially limited actions in the downtown area, where the population tends to be wealthy and white

**IGD:** What happened in Cleveland when police officer Michael Brelo was found not guilty?

**Tom Nomad:** During this time more consistent organizers were being surveilled, but at a distance, with the occasional infiltrator in actions and unmarked cars outside of meetings. But, even in this situation, the surveillance occurred at a distance, and never crossed over into people

being approached or raided. There were some moments in which the facade of passivity would crack, such as during some of the confrontations in November when a bus of people from Ferguson came to town, but these moments were the exception rather than the rule. It is important to keep in mind that there is a general recognition in the city that the anger over police action extends far outside of the ones that turn up to demonstrations, and the actions of the police were clearly engineered to maintain a distance between those that are on the street and those that have not come out yet. This distance is constructed both spatially, with the confining of actions to the downtown area, and organizational, with a series of organizations all competing for power over the phantom of a singular “movement”, which always exists in concept only.

In the lead up to the demonstrations around the Brelo verdict the tactics of the police began to take a stark turn, although this was not apparent to many at the time. Starting around a month before the end of the trial the city began to organize city sponsored “peacekeeper teams”, who were ostensibly being brought on in order to be a liaison between the cops and demonstrators after the verdict, and just as pacifists tried to do in Ferguson, deescalate the situation. The “peacekeeper teams” were organized on a district by district basis, with the police district public relations staff doing the organizing on the surface. The composition of these groups can only be understood in relation to the dynamics of the city political machine, which has been a form of Democratic Party controlled cronyism for the past 70 years or so. This led to the building of the “peacekeeper teams” from those that exist within four distinct

spheres within the social dynamics of the city.

The first sphere is comprised of those that are already close to the police department, including auxiliary police and neighborhood watch organizers, as well as people from the Citizen Relations Boards for the district, and CMHA, the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority. These are people that derive a significant amount of power within the political dynamic simply through being more or less snitches and security guards at public events. The second sphere in which they drew participants was from city affiliated non-profit organizations. Many of these organizations, like the Guardian Angels and Peace in the Hood, front as organizations that are attempting to be community conflict resolution organizations, but in reality often become nothing but an informant network for the police; this key group I will discuss in more detail later. The third sector that participants were drawn from were the churches and other “community organizations”, like the Community Development Corporations. Finally, they were drawing participants from the police departments themselves, who often dictated the pace and content of the meetings and set the tone for the activities of the “peacekeeper teams”.

What became profoundly disturbing about this structure is that these non-profit conflict resolution organizations, who often are involved in mediating conflicts between street gangs and so on, were shown for what they actually are: informants. During these meetings the infiltration of demonstrations and organizations was openly discussed, and information gained from these operations were clearly discussed.

Outside of the use of the formal non-profits and “community organizations” to monitor social media for rumblings of civil unrest, the conflict resolution organizations were setting up meetings with people in street gangs and some organizations and trying to gather information for the police. From this information the goal was to identify “troublemakers” and target them for arrest during any actions that may arise from the verdict. This dynamic, which essentially equates to the construction of a low level secret police informant network, was exposed to some people in the media, after which the meetings were closed and started being held in relative secret.

Also, in the week leading up to the verdict we began to get word of a series of preparations that were being made by police departments around the county. There were reports of cops from surrounding cities being put on 12 hour shifts and having their vacations called off. Reports came in of trucks pulling up and off-loading large quantities of boxes at the Police Academy. Most strikingly, there were reports coming from within the city bureaucracy that the verdict was being held up until the police department could receive their shipment of riot control gear. It also became clear, as the week wore on, that Burke Lakefront Airport, an airport for small private planes bordering Downtown, was becoming a hive of activity; this would become the eventual staging area for the police operation and holding area for arrestees.

When the verdict was released, on a Saturday morning at 10 AM, it came as a surprise. There had been talk coming from the city all week that they were going to provide warning of the verdict hours in advance,

which they failed to hold to. Almost immediately people began to gather around the city, with some beginning to gather Downtown, around the county jail, some gathering out on the west side of the city, near the house of the county prosecutor, at a demonstration that was already planned for that day, and others beginning to gather at houses around the city to gather supplies, organize the medic and scout teams, and set up logistics for the day. In the minutes after the verdict we began to notice that helicopters were hovering over a series of neighborhoods, with reports coming in that they were circling around Detroit Shoreway, a neighborhood home to many of the anarchists in the city, over the West 80s, a neighborhood immediately bordering Detroit Shoreway and where Tamir Rice was killed, and over Hough, Fairfax and East Cleveland on the east side of the city. From the reports coming in from the Downtown area riot police were beginning to gather near the crowds that were starting to form.

Around this time, now 11 AM, marches began Downtown, with the main group heading around the center of the city blocking roads, and eventually crossing the Detroit Superior Bridge to the west side. This march moved up Detroit Ave from W25th to around W40th, where there is a large open field separating the street from a freeway. At this point the crowd ran through the field, jumped onto the freeway and blocked the freeway. They eventually moved, after a tip that arrest vans were on the way to their location. The other group began the demonstrations at the prosecutor’s house, marching through the neighborhood, eventually ending the action and going to Cudell Recreation Center. The group that was heading

west on Detroit marched all the way down to Cudell, which is around W90th St, and met the group from the other action. When the crowds met they began to move through the neighborhood and were met by a line of mounted police. After some brief scuffles the crowd moved back down Detroit, across the bridge and into Downtown again. It is at this moment that the situation began to escalate.

Most of the riot control units had been confined to the Downtown area. As the crowd moved through Downtown, and up East 4th St, a patron of a bar threw a drink at someone in the march and a fight broke out. The cops came storming in and arrested some of the people in the march, and pushed the rest of the march south of the location, into some of the crowds gathering for the baseball game that was happening that afternoon. The crowd began to march on the stadium, and were blocked by riot police again, who charged the crowd and pushed everyone north away from the stadium. At this point things became really tense, with people spreading out around Downtown, and ending up in a cat and mouse game with the cops. As the crowd began to centralize again there was a shift in police tactics. Firstly, a shift change had occurred, and the cops on the street were largely not sheriffs and state police, with many of the Cleveland cops being dispersed into the neighborhoods to watch for groups gathering and many of the out of town cops being rotated out. Secondly, the goal became to end the demonstrations, and prevent them from leaving the Downtown area.

As night fell people from the earlier demonstrations had left and the group that was still in the streets was



younger, more confrontational and less organized. This led to a series of small clashes, which culminated in an hour long attempt by the police to flank the crowd, get in front with buses full of cops, and funnel them into an area where large numbers of arrests could be easily made. This attempt culminated in the arrest of over 70 people, who were surrounded in an alley, boxed in and slowly arrested. After arrest they were transferred down to the abandoned high school, Aviation High School, at the airport for processing. Throughout the night, after the end of actions downtown, there were reports of small groups gathering in neighborhoods, some fires were set (although it is unclear whether this was related), the streets were saturated with cops and the skies with choppers.

The reason that this level of detail is necessary in this explanation is that we cannot understand the shifts that have occurred in Cleveland without understanding some of the more nuanced dynamics of the pivot point, the late afternoon on the day of the actions around the Brelo verdict. Since this time we have noticed a marked shift in police response to potential points of confrontation. Take for example, around a week after the Brelo verdict the police fired shots at a man that was fleeing arrest in the West 80s, near where Tamir Rice was killed. Immediately crowds started to gather and assess the sit-

uation. The response was to bring in large numbers of SWAT vehicles and cordon off the entire area. Around a week after this they raided a building in the same area, and rolled down in a convoy of dozens of vehicles, immediately cordoned off the area and walked around the streets with automatic weapons out. This shift can be explained by the shifting dynamics on the streets of the city. Early on in this process the police worked to separate the organized groups from the neighborhoods, and were largely successful in this attempt. This, coupled with the general hesitancy to see what is happening in a strategic way on the part of many groups in town, has led to a dynamic in which, as we see with many formal political groups, the organized groups are becoming more and more isolated as they replicate the same activist tactics again and again. Some groups, like the New Abolitionists Association, have given up on organizing almost entirely, and have just become part of the process that the city has instituted. When this isolation became entrenched the tactics changed from one of containing "movement" organization to one of raising the stakes for those that fall outside of the self-defined "movement" groups, namely people on the street. These demonstrations of force, which have taken the form of saturation policing of potential trigger points, has

been largely successful in presenting the image of calm.

When we take this all into account another perspective becomes clear. The initial tactic was pure deescalation, hoping that the process that the city had set up to channel anger into political legitimacy would pay dividends. As it became clear that many of those that had been participating in actions had no interest in working with the city, and the groups that did had lost legitimacy, a more nuanced counter-insurgency strategy began to take shape. If we study US military counter-insurgency closely we can see a series of dynamics come in to play. Within occupation you have a situation in which the occupying force, and all police are an occupying force, have to cover as much space as possible as consistently as possible, and this takes dispersed force, movement and coordination; force projection. As attacks occur, or become possible, the occupying force has to concentrate forces, limiting their projection, resulting in gaps in coverage. Counter-insurgency, as it is currently understood in a doctrinal sense (which is separate from the concept on a more general level, all policing is counter-insurgency) attempts to amplify force projection through non-traditional means, coupled with police action. Sympathetic elements within a space are mobilized and given benefits in exchange for cooperation and information.

The construction of a secret police informant network is used in order to gain vision into areas that would otherwise be opaque, by exploiting the trust that some have for the collaborators. From this information operations can be planned, with overwhelming force used in order to create the conditions for either the capitulation or elimination of insurgent forces.

This is very much what we have witnessed building up in the city, the use of secret informants that operate under the guise of community organizations, the disbursement of benefits to those that cooperate, the attempt to identify antagonistic elements and the use of overwhelming force and shows of force to attempt to suppress resistance. On many levels we are our own worst enemy. The traditional way that radicals, and this is a dynamic that infects so much of anarchist discourse, interact with wider dynamics of conflict, is that we attempt to interact as anarchists, and in this allow political identity to become a central mechanism in our activity. In doing so we construct a space in which we enter into a frontal conflict with the state, bouncing from action to action, riot to riot, and acting based on immediate political will driven by anger and passion; this makes us isolated, and as a result, easy targets. This is combined with the use of social media and a conceptual understanding of surveillance to construct a situation in which we are also easy to track and monitor. All of this is wrapped up in a structure of activism, in which we attempt to engage with an enemy that we have no intimate understanding of, on a terrain which is symbolic, driven by an injunction to act whenever possible.

These dynamics prevent us from

being able to come to understand some very fundamental elements of the immediate terrain that we operate within, and leads to situations in which we are exposed, operating at a disadvantage, and replicating tactics that, even if they create excellent visuals, are largely ineffective. Take for example the concept of the march. In this structure of action we expend resources in order to create an event that in its very structure is isolated, some event that is done by some group for some purpose. Within this operational limitation the action itself becomes identifiable, easily visualized and spatially limited. The dynamic begins to form in which the march, even if some element of destruction occurs, is always hermetically sealed, controllable, contained, and often clearly within a zone of activity which is surrounded and potentially dispersed with force at almost any time. By replicating this scenario we are replicating a dynamic in which we always will have a disadvantage, and in which the immediate goals are unclear.

**IGD:** There is the Republican National Convention coming up next year in Cleveland. How do you think these events will shape possible resistance and demonstrations at next years RNC? How is the state already attempting to police protests there (especially through social media?)

**Tom Nomad:** In perspective, some of the preparations for the Republican National Convention have become abundantly clear. Primary among these is that we can start to see the police actions after the Brelo verdict as foreshadowing some of the tactics and logistics that will be used during the convention. For example, it is likely, given our past experience, and some of the infor-

mation that we have been able to recently acquire, that Burke Lakefront Airport is going to be used as both the police staging area and the holding area for arrestees. It is a large open space, with ready access from highways, immediately outside of Downtown, and there is already experience in using it for this purpose. Along with the police response to the small demonstrations that happened around the Republican Debate, we can also reasonably predict that the tactics that will be used will likely be based in large riot lines and full gear, rather than the more dynamic mobile tactics that we tend to see in places like DC or later in the police response to the Baltimore riots.

Specifically, what I expect to see is a continuation of the secret police informant network, and the use of this in the lead up to the convention. We already know that they are watching social media closely, and that locally based corporations are in touch with, and coordinating security operations with, the FBI and Homeland Security. With the continuation of this program, and the certainty of more formal infiltration attempts, there is a distinct risk in even attempting to organize anything at all. One of the dynamics of convention cities that is often not discussed is that for the residents of the city the convention begins the moment after the announcement. We have already been seeing the shift in city spending priorities, the attempt to build support around the convention and the disbursement of benefits to those that are willing to cooperate, the change in police tactics, training and equipment, and these dynamics will impact the city for some time to come.

**IGD:** Since the Ferguson and Bal-

timore uprisings, we've seen a continued growth of the Black Lives Matter movement, both in a very diffuse way, and in the creation of formalized groups and a push more into traditional politics. At the same time, the disruptive element of this moment remains pretty constant. How are police departments in your view reacting to this, and what does that tell us?

**Tom Nomad:** To begin to venture a response to this question, question of police tactics in general, there are a series of distinctions that have to be made and points that will have to be clarified to begin the entry way into a way to think through this question. Firstly, on a basic level it is impossible to speak of tactics in themselves, or in some generalized sense. When we speak of the tactical we are speaking of the dynamics of activity within a particular scenario. On this level we have to acknowledge the distinction between tactics and conceptual approaches that may be attempted. As such, all we can speak of is the ways in which we can make sense of tactics and the ways that this may come to inform an understanding of strategic approach. Within the question of strategic approach we also cannot speak in absolute generalities, strategic approaches vary from place to place, are impacted by dynamics of history, the internal dynamics of the force itself, which is never singular, and the dynamics of the moment, as well as factors like training levels, psychological approaches of command structures and so on. In this sense, all we are really capable of doing is speaking in a highly generalized way to the degree that a general response to a question like this is possible.

Secondly, we have to clarify what it is that we mean by the term "police".

In modern American etymological approach we tend to approach the police as a group of people in uniform that impose laws through a certain logistical structure. However, I would like to broaden this term into its more foundational roots, as those that impose the conceptual structure of the state, that impose unity, through a variety of means centered around a use of force. What is important about this broadening out is that from this perspective we are capable of making sense of more than just what a particular institution is engaged in, and what the dynamics of that grouping may be. We can begin to think through political dynamics, the use of irregular forces, which is highly important in so-called "community policing", and the dynamics around space. Specifically, and this is relevant in our ways of thinking through responses to the current crisis, we have to think through the ways that the actions of police professional organizations (the FOP, PBA, PA, and so on) both serve to reinforce certain approaches while undercutting others. In the age of police militarization and the backlash against police activity the professional associations have become increasingly powerful.

So, with these caveats out of the way there are some basic approaches that can be outlined, at least in a very general way. These approaches can be loosely grouped around a structure that is likened to the modern manifestations of counter-insurgency that we have been seeing develop in the US occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, and that are now spreading out into a more comprehensive global military posture. We have to keep in mind here that this discussion exempts the initial police response to the demonstrations in Ferguson, where overwhelming force

was used from the very beginning of engagement. Rather, a turning point occurred when the State Police came in and took over the operations. At this point we began to watch a dynamic build up, where the initial goal becomes to deescalate a situation by providing a controlled, contained space for actions to occur within. This containment can take the form of a perimeter or a curfew or both. In this space actions are allowed to continue, but the perimeter is tightly closed and secured, with actions that occur outside of this space being cracked down on. This perimeter is not necessarily static, it moves, as we have seen in actions in Cleveland and other cities, where marches are able to take roads, but contained with traffic routed around. The goal here is twofold. Firstly, it is to not be the flashpoint, to not escalate force and to not create a dynamic of open fighting. Secondly, the purpose, on an immediate operational level, is to contain contingency, to provide a reason to go into the perimeter, while discouraging any exit from that space. This tends to concentrate actions in easy to contain and limited spaces.

This containment then spreads outside of the immediacy of street action, and begins to take the form of a much broader containment which comes to impact approaches to strategy. In the Cleveland context this meant that the city government found organizations that had either something to gain through collaboration or something to lose by not collaborating, in this case it was moderate youth organizations, like the New Abolitionists Association, and church organizations, who have been forces of collaboration and deescalation since the 1960s. At the point in which some organizations can be pulled into the

process the dynamics shift. These organizations are often given easy, but generally meaningless and symbolic, victories that they can use to recruit new members and channel resistance into acceptable channels. While this is occurring we have witnessed a process through which the tactics employed by the police become more and more frontal, with the number of arrests increasing, and street action being increasingly compressed and limited. This strategic arc creates a dynamic in which the options become clear, one can collaborate and maybe gain some symbolic ground within a reformist framework, or one can become increasingly isolated within a context of compressed spaces of action.

This strategy has a certain functionality, but this functionality exists only in relation to a certain form of engagement, namely a form of engagement that is based in reformism and activist frameworks and modes. In other words, this is a strategy that functions to the degree that conflict is understood as occurring on a conceptual plane in relation to a conceptual enemy, and that this occurs within a conceptual framework of incrementalism, what is sometimes called “acceptability politics.” Another dynamic that is causing issues for this strategy is the approaches that have been taken by the police professional associations across the country, which has been a posture of total obstruction, complete opposition. What is important about this antagonistic stance is not so much that the police are attempting to preserve a certain role based in impunity, this will necessarily always be the case; the police are the condition of possibility for the state, for law to function. More importantly, this approach has generated a political crisis in certain areas, specifically in

larger cities, in which it becomes impossible for the strategy being employed on a political level to come to fruition.

Without being able to provide benefits for collaboration, albeit limited and incrementalist benefits, the impetuous to collaborate disappears and the forces that engage in collaboration cease to have any relevance on the street. In other words, without the ability to demonstrate some level of success there becomes little reason for others from the outside to be channeled in to a structure of collaboration. We can see numerous attempts to address this, with cops being charged in Baltimore quickly after the rioting began. But, for as often as these acts of desperation are being taken in an attempt to salvage the viability of this specific strategic approach, there are even more examples of this strategy failing, less due to outside resistance, and more due to internal dissension; we can point to Ferguson police firing tear gas into crowds after the non-indictment of Darren Wilson in contrast to direct orders from the State Police as a clear example of this.

What is going to become interesting is not the question of whether this strategic arc will implode on some sort of “national” scale, this is a false category, the category of the nation as some sort of singular unit. Rather, what is going to become interesting is whether, on a localized and immediate level, in some particular terrain, what the dynamics of this sort of strategy collapsing will inevitably be. On a basic level—on the most general level that is able to be commented on, a conceptual level—the question will be how this tension is negotiated, how political structures will cope with being under siege, both on the street and by their pro-

tectors, the police themselves. It is this dynamic that, on a very immediate level, generated many of the dynamics within the social war that have led us to a point in which there is an increasing sense that fighting is a viable option, and it is this dynamic that in itself will continue to perpetuate this specific dynamic.

**IGD:** In places like Cincinnati and Baltimore, police departments were gearing up for riots months before hand as they prepared to release footage of police shootings and potentially exonerate officers facing charges. Do you think things have shifted in terms of how the state sees potential insurgency and riots in the US since Ferguson?

**Tom Nomad:** When this shift has been discussed, at least in the discussions I have seen thus far, the discussion tends to come from a discourse based on some sort of immediate presence, and the assumption that there is some recent national shift in the tactics that the police employ in relation to crowd control. Though this discussion does recognize something important, that the preemptive preparation for rioting seems to be a somewhat recent phenomena borne out of recent events, what is often not recognized is the trajectory that has led to this situation, and how this sort of dynamic has developed. On one hand there is a clear sense in which preemptive preparations are unique outside of a summit demonstration context. But, on the other hand, we have to recognize how expensive, both on the level of resources and personnel capacity preparations like this are. To bring in police around the response to the Brelo verdict in Cleveland, for example, every police department in the county, and a number of departments outside of the county, went

onto 12 hour shifts, called off vacations and brought forces into the city. This was on top of the \$4 million or so that was spent on preparing a holding area, staffing, food logistics, overtime and so on that was paid. So, even if these preparations are occurring, they are not a sustainable response to the situation. There is a tendency within the anarchist milieu to focus on the confrontation itself in some isolated time frame, as some series of moments that occur in some extraordinary way. But, it is important for us to make sense of the contextual capacities of the forces involved. In this sense what we can say is that these preparations are occurring, and this is a unique situation outside of the summit context, but that this is still a response to something that is seen as isolated, as something that occurs around verdicts and central events that garner a response.

On some level this is a response to a recognition. When we think of police forces there is a tendency to think of the moments in which we have interactions with the police, without taking into account the moments where the police are absent, and these moments are important. If we take a police force, subtract the number of police that are on administrative duty, divide that number by the number of districts, zones or precincts exist, and then divide that number by the number of shifts, you can have a rough estimate of the number of police that exist at any one time in the police district that one currently resides, and that is often a relatively small number. This means that the amount of space that is actually covered at any one time is also incredibly small. This is compensated for by the use of vehicles, to increase the rate of movement, the use of radios, to increase

coordination and so on. What we are fundamentally addressing is a question of the projection of force in relation to the concentration of force that occurs during response; whenever police forces concentrate at a single point they cover less space as a whole, in less concentration. The discussion around preparations for possible civil disturbance occurs within the discussion of the anomaly, that forces can be concentrated for a limited period of time in order to provide force concentration around areas where demonstrations may occur, while preserving force concentration everywhere else in the city at normal levels. This assumes two dynamics which are also commonly assumed within the anarchist milieu. Firstly, that resistance is always localized to a group that is identifiable and able to be contained in an area, the demonstration model; and, secondly, that the duration of events is confined to a limited period of time. It is in this sense that traditional activist approaches reinforce the effectiveness of this approach to policing, one based in a concentration of force around limited times and spaces.

However, there are some distinct weaknesses to this approach, if we can move outside of the activist form of engagement, in which we engage in some symbolic space at some "important" time to make some ethical position known through discursive means we can exploit these weaknesses, but this means doing things in fundamentally different ways. There is a tendency among anarchists, and others within radical milieus, to understand our role at the one's that confront the state frontally, in some isolated way, and that fighting is defined by clear political ideas and alliances are structured around political identity. This approach accomplishes the isolation that is the

condition of possibility for this approach of force concentration to function. If we begin to understand conflict spatially, as something that occurs in space, temporally, as something that occurs along a strategic trajectory, and strategically, where action is framed around the achievement of objectives, if we understand action in its material sense, then it is likely that the model of frontal confrontation in isolated places at predetermined times will become shown to be the absurdity that it is. What this strategy of force concentration has achieved is that it has made the context of demonstrations largely irrelevant, channeled, purely a form of expression. What this opens is a whole other space to begin to make sense of conflict that is not dependent on these concentrated, limited moments of confrontation.

The recognition that is coming to the foreground is one that police forces have been attempting to work through since the advent of modern policing, the sheer inability of the forces of occupation to ever project force thoroughly enough over enough space to actually eliminate resistance and "criminality." Many tools have been used to compensate for this but they all have their weaknesses. One can put cameras all over a city, but someone has to be watching them for the cameras themselves to matter. One can flood a city with cops, but that have to hope that resistance is only a temporary phenomena, and limited to a specific space. In many senses this approach is a remembrance of the limitations of occupation and defensiveness, where the occupying force has to secure everything, but can never have the capacity to do so. It is in this sense that we can approach this phenomena, as a response to an inherent limitation on policing, one that

can be, and in many places has been, used to the advantage of insurgents.

**IGD:** Everyday is bringing a new atrocity to the fore in America of police violence. Thinking strategically, do you have any ideas about how people should move forward and act?

**Tom Nomad:** What becomes important here is not necessarily a shift in approach, from one singular approach to another singular approach, but a process of shifting categories away from activist injunctions to engage against perceived injustice, and into a process of making sense of what materially grounded approaches to the logistical operation of policing looks like. It is this question that cannot be answered in general, what this approach is or should be. Rather, this is something that we do all have to figure out, but it is here that some general discussion can be ventured. In other words, what becomes important is not some new approach to action, but an attempt to figure out what activity itself even looks like. For a while now I have been arguing that the question is not what "we" should be doing, whatever this "we" is; this is a question that cannot be answered. We cannot answer this question not just due to the fact that we have to recognize that the only reason this question arises is due to our failure to be successful, but also due to the non-commonality and constantly shifting dynamics of the spaces in which "doing" occurs. Rather, the question becomes figuring out what "doing" means, what are we doing something in relation to, where, when. It is here that some expansion on a discussion can occur, not on the level of doing, but on the level of even being able to understand what doing something means, or whether we should do anything at

all, which is still an open question.

In order to figure this out we have to realign the posture that many in the anarchist milieu take toward action, which oscillates between feeling a necessity to "do something" and "doing nothing." Rather, we have to reconstruct the basis through which we even begin to make sense of what this means. To do so we have to come to terms with the spatio-temporality of action, and how confrontation distorts this understanding. In moments of confrontation there is a tendency to develop tunnel-vision, fear, adrenaline and the immediacy of danger tend to generate an understanding of action that is relegated to moments of confrontation, and these become synonymous. In these moments we have to try to maintain an understanding of the terrain in which action occurs. By terrain I don't mean just physical space, although this is a part of terrain. But, rather, terrain is a term that names the dynamics of the space we exist within, and the forces involved in these spaces, how those forces can be manipulated to generate the strategic outcome that you are attempting to reach and so on.

As such, a more general statement can be ventured, but it is in no way an answer to the question of what people should do. Firstly, what this means is that we have to approach forces in terrain as they exist, rather than as we would like them to exist or through the lens of political judgement about those forces. For example, when we take the discussion in the anarchist milieu surrounding working with liberals we are often faced with two false choices; the position coming from insurrectionists, which I have a lot of affinity with on a philosophical level, which is essentially, liberals

are forces of collaboration so ignore them or actively oppose them, and an argument that we hear from anarcho-communist mass movement types, the argument that liberals are potential allies and that we need to focus on mass. The question is really a question of whether liberals, whoever they may be, could be useful to the strategic objectives that we have identified as being important, in a local context, or whether they are not, and if they are not whether it makes sense to start a conflict over conceptual disagreement, and what goals that would serve. One could do this with people like city council people, people in the development corporations, insiders in city hall and so on.

Before even getting there one has to figure out who these people are, what roles different forces have in an area, and that requires the development of intelligence. The development of an intelligence structure does not just involve getting basic information about possible targets, but also which entities are involved with these targets, how these targets function. It is important to get beyond the idea of the target as a symbolic singular entity, and to understand the target as something that functions, that has people taking actions both within its everyday functionality, but also in the support mechanisms that allow the structure to continue to function in the role it is functioning. To understand this one can rely on information that is in the public sphere, but that is going to be limited. Means have to be developed to find information that is difficult to find, and from there developing an understanding of our environment, and acting accordingly.

**IGD:** Thanks for much for talking with us Tom!

# Mexico: Street Fighting Marks October 2nd Demonstrations

## Commuque

The newest round of October 2nd protests led to new clashes between law enforcement officers and young rebels. The black bloc broke the order of normalcy, facing the henchman of authority and the citizenist mass.

In the Federal District (D.F.) of Mexico City, the cloaked combatants clashed with a unit of the federal police, with slingshots, molotov cocktails, stones and firecrackers leading to 4 arrests. Meanwhile in the city

of Oaxaca, the anarchist bloc destroyed the shop windows of banks, car dealerships and retail stores with stones and molotov cocktails; there were 9 arrests.

Despite attempts by the professionals of anarchism to limit and lead the outbreaks of revolt, even in the face of massive campaigns of disinformation that have demonized the expressions of rebellion and in the face of the paranoia after extensive repression and ar-

rests, combative youth are still taking the street, making the social war visible.

*Nothing is over.*

Contra Info  
Transl. It's Going Down  
October 12th 2015



# ACTION ROUND UP

**May 30th:** Anti-fascists clashed with neo-nazis in Olympia, USA

**Early June:** Anti-fascist patrols continued for several days in Olympia, USA

**June 2nd:** An upscale restaurant is vandalized with feminist and anti-gentrification propaganda in Montréal, CAN

**June 7th:** Election day in Mexico, clashes and rioting broke out in an attempt to boycott the election in several cities including Chilpancigo, Mexico City, Oaxaca, and Tuxtla Gutiérrez, MEX [See "Here Are The Children Of Ricardo Flores Magón"]

**June 10th:** The Ministry of Social Development is attacked with an incendiary device in Xalapa, MEX

**June 11th:** Across the US and the world, events are held for long-term anarchist prisoners, including a demonstration in Bloomington, USA and a banner drop in Chicago, USA

**June 13th:** "Go Home Yuppie Scum" is spray painted in Jersey City, USA

**June 15th:** Dozens of coal trains are derailed due to of sabotage in Missouri, USA

**June 18th:** The driveway of Kolter Group's CEO is blocked after the company began clearing the Briger Forest in Florida, USA

**June 19th:** Gang members marched together against police brutality in Seattle, USA

**June 19th:** Multiple explosive attacks against the Secretariat of the Economy, the International Electoral Institute, and a transit station are claimed in the town of Puebla, MEX

**June 19th:** Inmates at the maximum security prison rioted for 6 hours in Penetanguishene, CAN

**Late June:** Statues and monuments to the Confederacy are vandalized with graffiti such as "RACIST" or "BLACK LIVES MATTER" in several cities, including Austin, Baltimore, Charleston, Lexington, New Orleans, Richmond, and St. Louis, USA

**June 23rd:** A pipeline construction site is blockaded in Vermont, USA

**June 24th:** Anti-gentrification protesters camped overnight at Victoria Park in Kitchener, CAN

**June 24th:** Hundreds of indigenous people blocked construction crews from reaching

the top of Muana Kea mountain in Hawaii, USA

**June 25th:** Anti-gentrification protesters stormed a developers office in San Francisco, USA

**June 25th:** "FUCK CONDOS" is spray painted on the site of a new development in Philadelphia, USA

**June 25th:** An incendiary device is detonated at a Toyota dealership in Veracruz, MEX

**June 26th:** A spontaneous demonstration blocked streets in response to the police dismantling a homeless camp in Baltimore, USA

**June 26th:** About 100 workers went on strike at a meat-packing company in response to the government investigating immigrants at the company in Illinois, USA

**June 27th:** Fifty people blocked traffic in solidarity with a man who was killed by police in Washington, USA

**June 28th:** Dozens of monkeys are freed from a research facility in Puerto Rico, USA

**June 28th:** Several rallied to burn Confederate flags in Chicago, USA

**June 28th:** Several dozen teenagers rampaged through a Wal-Mart, causing thousands of dollars of damage, in Georgia, USA

**June 29th:** 200 rioters damaged the police department headquarters as well as several vehicles in Pikangikum, CAN

**June 29th:** Anarcha-feminists broke off from the main route of the Dyke march and block the intersection in front of a queer bar recently evicted due to gentrification in San Francisco, USA

**June 31st:** Fuel workers went on a wildcat strike against potential layoffs at Pearson International Airport in Toronto, CAN

**July:** Confederate & colonial monuments and statues continued to be vandalized throughout the month all across the United States, including Boston, Charleston, Charlotte, Chapel Hill, Durham, Memphis, Oklahoma City, Raleigh, and Seattle, USA

**July 2nd:** Inmates rioted for multiple days in a row and cause significant damage to the prison in Arizona, USA

**July 3rd:** Solidarity rally against the repression of anarchists in Mexico took place in Indianapolis, USA

**July 4th:** Anarchists gathered to burn United States and Confederate flags are attacked by police and nationalists in New York, USA

**July 4th:** Thousands of people lit fire-works, blocked streets, and attacked officers trying to disperse them in Cincinnati, USA

**July 5th:** An explosive device is left at a Mercedes-Benz car dealership in Naucalpan, MEX

**July 6th:** Two years after an oil train derailment killed dozens in Quebec, train tracks are blockaded in Portland, USA

**July 7th:** A truck transporting compressed natural gas is blockaded and a pipeline construction site disrupted in Vermont, USA

**July 9th:** Several thousand mink are rescued from a fur farm in Ontario, CAN

**July 13th:** Anti-police graffiti is written in Philadelphia, USA

**July 14th:** Indigenous protesters disrupted city offices after a permit is granted to re-open a mine in British Columbia, CAN

**July 14th:** A fiber-optic cable is cut, disrupting internet service for almost a day in California, USA

**July 15th:** Indigenous people prevented the police from escorting a highway construction crew into their territory in Lerma, MEX

**July 15th:** The police are blocked from entering Unist'ot'en territory in British Columbia, CAN

**July 15th:** Construction equipment is burned in Jalisco, MEX

**July 16th:** Indigenous protesters blockaded the Hydro-Quebec construction site in Quebec, CAN

**July 16th:** Parents of the 43 missing students clashed with police in Iguala, MEX

**July 18th:** Thousands confronted the KKK and their supporters, attacking them and burning several confederate flags in Columbia, USA [See "Report From 'Run The Klan Out Of Town' In Columbia, SC"]

**July 19th:** Anonymous took down the websites of the RCMP after police shoot a demonstrator in British Columbia, CAN

**July 19th:** Protesters disrupted Lakefair to bring attention to white supremacy and police brutality in Olympia, USA

- July 20th:** Fights broke out between police supporters and protesters in *Denver, USA*
- July 21st:** A rally in solidarity with Suruç, where a suicide bomber killed dozens of revolutionaries, took place in *New York, USA*
- July 21st:** Paint dumped on a car belonging to a real-estate company in *Philadelphia, USA*
- July 21st:** Protests against police brutality disrupted traffic and transit stations in *New York, USA*
- July 22nd:** A mural of comedian Bill Cosby is defaced with the word "RAPIST" in *Philadelphia, USA*
- July 23rd:** Streets are blocked against police brutality in an upscale neighborhood of *Oakland, USA*
- July 23rd:** A white supremacist is shot in *Indiana, USA*
- July 24th:** Unist'ot'en supporters marched in *Toronto, CAN*
- July 25th:** Chevron is blocked from entering Unist'ot'en territory in *British Columbia, CAN*
- July 25th:** Posters in solidarity with Kurdish insurgents are wheat-pasted around in *Minneapolis, USA*
- July 25th:** A Kinder Morgan sign is vandalized to mark 8 years since the company's crude oil spill in *Burnaby, CAN*
- July 26th:** Rallies in solidarity with Suruç took place in *New York* and *San Francisco, USA*
- July 26th:** Police attempted to arrest a young black man outside of the national Black Lives Matter conference, leading to confrontations in the street in *Cleveland, USA* [See "Spotlight on Cleveland"]
- July 26th:** Inmates rioted for the third time in recent months while others attempted to escape at a jail in *Saskatoon, CAN*
- July 26th:** An explosive device is detonated at a bank branch in *Mexico City, MEX*
- July 27th:** Dozens demonstrated outside the residence of the police officer who killed Sandra Bland in *Texas, USA*
- July 27th:** Anti-police brutality activists shut down a highway onramp for nearly two hours in *Toronto, CAN*
- July 28th:** A large demonstration connecting the struggles of the missing students and indigenous land defense took place in *Mexico City, MEX*
- July 28th:** Unist'ot'en supporters marched in the streets before occupying a Canadian consulate in *Seattle, USA*
- July 28th:** Taxi drivers attacked Uber cars operating near the international airport in *Mexico City, MEX*
- July 29th:** Inmates rioted causing several thousand dollars of damage at the county jail in *Arkansas, USA*
- July 30th:** Three hundred mink are released from a fur farm in *Ontario, CAN*
- July 31st:** Hundreds shut down streets against police brutality in downtown *Minneapolis, USA*
- August 1st:** A police vehicle is set on fire in *Texas, USA*
- August 3rd:** Protesters shut down streets against an immigrant detention center in *Seattle, USA*
- August 3rd:** Activists redistributed water from the mayor to those facing water shut-offs in *Detroit, USA*
- August 4th:** Students shut down streets and businesses in support of teachers in *Guerrero, MEX*
- August 6th:** A neo-nazi is soaked with urine in *Illinois, USA*
- August 6th:** Students blockaded an airport in support of teachers in *Acapulco, MEX*
- August 7th:** To mark the anniversary of the Tompkins Square riots, the park is occupied overnight in *New York, USA*
- August 9th:** During demonstrations on the one year anniversary of Mike Brown's death at the hands of the police, another black man is shot by the cops, and gunfire is exchanged between the crowd and police in *Ferguson, USA*
- August 9th:** Anti-police posters are wheat-pasted around *Philadelphia, USA*
- Mid August:** Several cities held solidarity marches with Ferguson, including *Chicago, Denver, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and New York, USA*
- Mid August:** Anti-police graffiti is written in *Seattle, USA*
- August 10th:** A tar sands mine is blockaded in *Utah, USA*
- August 11th:** After his neighborhood is covered in posters, a contractor paid previously withheld wages in *Houston, USA*
- August 12th:** In response to another police killing, demonstrators marched, smashed windows, wrote graffiti and blocked a highway in *Oakland, USA*
- August 13th:** Dozens rallied in support of the Rojava revolution at the Turkish consulate in *Los Angeles, USA*
- August 14th:** Indigenous protesters occupied a meeting to discuss fracking on sacred land in *Arizona, USA*
- August 18th:** Unist'ot'en solidarity banner hung, and a Chevron station is sabotaged in *Maine, USA*
- August 19th:** After a months-long campaign taking place across the continent, property management company Greystar paid back a tenant's false charges in *Seattle, USA*
- August 19th:** In response to another police killing, demonstrators fought with police and looted stores in *St. Louis, USA*
- Late August:** Train railways are sabotaged twice in *Montréal, CAN*
- August 21st:** Hundreds shut down streets for a DIY festival in *Vancouver, CAN*
- August 22nd:** Dozens marched in support of the Rojava revolution in *Seattle, USA*
- August 23rd:** Anti-gentrification banner hung in *Philadelphia, USA*
- August 24th:** Anti-logging banner hung in *Oregon, USA*
- August 24th:** A pipeline construction site is blockaded in *Vermont, USA*
- August 25th:** Anti-fracking banners hung in *Hudson Valley, USA*
- August 25th:** To prevent it's development as a natural gas terminal, indigenous people occupied *Lelu Island, CAN*
- August 28th:** Anti-police graffiti painted in *Montréal, CAN*
- August 29th:** Posters in solidarity with anarchist prisoners are wheat-pasted around in *Philadelphia, USA*
- August 30th:** An ATM is sabotaged in *Torreón, MEX*
- September 2nd:** A pipeline construction site is disrupted in *Ontario, CAN*
- September 3rd:** Another fiber-optic line is cut, causing internet outages for over a day in *California, USA*
- September 3rd:** Graffiti is written during an anti-police march in *Olympia, USA*
- September 5th:** Anti-racists confronted and shut down a white supremacist rally in *Washington DC, USA*
- September 5th:** Activists held a noise demonstration outside the home of two Kolter Group executives in *Florida, USA*
- September 5th:** Anti-fascists shot off

fireworks and broke the police station's windows when fascists refused to appear at their scheduled rally in *Olympia, USA* [See "Against The Charges, Against The Cops, Against The Nazis"]

**September 7th:** A website is taken offline that belonged to a vivisection laboratory in *Montréal, CAN*

**September 8th:** Anarchist prisoner solidarity banner hung in *Bloomington, USA*

**September 9th:** A demonstration took place in front of the District Attorney's house in *Denver, USA*

**September 9th:** Inmates occupied the dining hall and dormitory at a prison in *Alabama, USA*

**September 10th:** Indigenous protesters set up a blockade to prevent a fish farm from anchoring in *British Columbia, CAN*

**September 10th:** Masked demonstrators marched against rape culture, and threw flares at a bar behind which a rape was recently reported in *Bloomington, USA*

**September 12th:** Indigenous defenders prevented drilling off of *Lelu Island, CAN*

**September 14th:** The construction of a pipeline is disrupted in *Rhode Island, USA*

**September 16th:** Eric King solidarity banners are hung in *Kansas City* and *Omaha, USA*

**September 17th:** Pipeline construction is disrupted again in *Vermont, USA*

**September 17th:** Another demonstration took place in front of the District Attorney's house in *Denver, USA*

**September 17th:** Pheasants are liberated from game management in *Oregon, USA*

**September 17th:** A coal train is blocked in *Montana, USA*

**September 18th:** Demonstrators carried torches and wrote graffiti on the anniversary of the police killing of James Chasse in *Portland, USA*

**September 19th:** Anti-fascists confronted an anti-Islam rally and stole their banner in *Toronto, CAN*

**September 19th:** Demonstrators against police brutality shut down a highway in *Austin, USA*

**September 21st:** Once again pipeline construction is blockaded in *Vermont, USA*

**September 21st:** The local prosecutor's office is ransacked and vandalized in *Chilpancingo, MEX*

**September 21st:** Graffiti is painted in sol-

idarity with anarchist prisoners in *Mexico City, MEX*

**September 22nd:** Students burned trucks and clashed with police in *Tixtla, MEX*

**September 23rd:** Indigenous protesters disrupted hearings on the construction of a pipeline in *Quebec, CAN*

**September 23rd:** On the first day of a prisoners' hunger strike, dozens held a noise demonstration outside in *Illinois, USA*

**September 24th:** A parcel bomb is placed in the parking lot of a development company in *Naucalpan, MEX*

**September 26th:** On the one year anniversary of the students going missing, street fighting broke out against the police in *Mexico City, MEX*

**September 26th:** The international airport is blockaded against a mining project in *Los Cabos, MEX*

**September 26th:** A flea market, the owner of which is involved in gentrification schemes, is disrupted in *New York, USA*

**September 27th:** Days after being canonized as a saint, a Junipero Perra statue among others are vandalized in *California, USA*

**October:** Anti-colonial graffiti is painted in *Montréal, CAN*

**October 1st:** A homophobic rally is chased off in *Missouri, USA*

**October 2nd:** On the anniversary of the 1968 Tlatelolco massacre, street fighting broke out against the police in *Mexico City, MEX* and banks are attacked in *Oaxaca, MEX*

**October 2nd:** A police station is vandalized on the inside and out in *Olympia, USA*

**October 4th:** A Honda dealership is attacked, destroying several vehicles in *Ecatepec, MEX*

**October 5th:** An explosive device is placed at UNAM Nuclear Sciences Institute in *Mexico City, MEX*

**October 7th:** A bomb is left at the Computational Research Centre in *Mexico City, MEX*

**October 10th:** "FUCK WHITE POWER" is painted on a Christopher Columbus statue in *Philadelphia, USA*

**October 10th:** Anti-fascists scared off a white supremacist rally in *Philadelphia, USA*

**October 11th:** A former police station is burned down in *Quebec, CAN*

**October 12th:** A highway is blockaded for hours in *Oaxaca, MEX*

**October 12th:** Two car dealerships are attacked with explosives in *Ecatepec, MEX*

**October 13th:** An electoral campaign office is vandalized in *Montreal, CAN*

**October 14th:** An electoral campaign office is vandalized on the inside and out in *Montreal, CAN*

**October 15th:** Fires are set along train tracks in *Quebec, CAN*

**October 19th:** Another electoral campaign office vandalized in *Montreal, CAN*

**October 21st:** Indigenous militants blockaded train tracks for two hours in *Quebec, CAN*

**October 22nd:** Pipeline construction is blockaded in *Massachusetts, USA*

**October 23rd:** Animals are liberated from a fur farm in *Wisconsin, USA*

**October 24th:** Tiny homes are built at a public park to house the homeless before they are attacked by police in *Denver, USA*

**October 25th:** Several streets are blockaded during an international police conference in *Chicago, USA*

**October 28th:** Clashes between students and police broke out during the inauguration rally for the new governor in *Guerrero, MEX*

**October 29th:** Indigenous defenders prevented entry to surveyors on the 70th day of occupation on *Lelu Island, CAN*

**October 30th:** Several bombs are detonated on empty buses in *Mexico City, MEX*

**October 31st:** Antifascists confronted a white nationalist convention in *Washington DC, USA*

**October 31st:** Incendiary device is left at government offices in *Cuajimalpa, MEX*

**November 2nd:** Indigenous solidarity banners are hung and a highway is blockaded during rush hour in *Montreal, CAN*

**Early November:** Multiple symbols of gentrification are vandalized in *Philadelphia, USA*

**November 6th:** Explosives are placed at a bridge construction site in *Ecatepec, MEX*

**November 7th:** A riot broke out at the G.K. Fountain Correctional Facility in *Alabama, USA*

**Mid November:** Demonstrations against white supremacy took place at numerous school campuses across the United States, in some cases buildings are occupied.

**November 10th:** A banner is hung in solidarity with Keith LaMar's hunger strike *Bloomington, USA*

**November 11th:** A bridge is blocked by indigenous militants in *Quebec, CAN*

**November 11th:** Windows are smashed at a condo building in *San Francisco, USA*

**November 12th:** A government office is vandalized during a public sector strike in *Montreal, CAN*

**November 14th:** A rally is held in solidarity with anarchists arrested in Spain in *Minneapolis, USA*

**November 14th:** When officers tried to break up a sideshow, several police vehicles are attacked in *Oakland, USA*

**November 15th:** Teachers vandalized a government office while demonstrating against education reform in *Oaxaca, MEX*

**November 15th:** A police station is occupied in response to a police shooting in *Minneapolis, USA*

**November 16th:** A pipeline construction site is disrupted in *Connecticut, USA*

**November 16th:** A demonstration against police brutality blocks a highway in *Minneapolis, USA*

**November 18th:** After police attempted to evict the station occupation, street fighting broke out in *Minneapolis, USA*

**November 19th:** Graffiti is written on the two year anniversary of a police killing in *Durham, USA*

**November 20th:** Several high-end stores are vandalized in *Los Angeles, USA*

**November 20th:** Anti-police demonstrations are held in *Oakland, USA* and *New York, USA*

**November 23rd:** ATMs are vandalized for Black December in *Torreón, MEX*

**November 23rd:** White supremacists opened fire after being chased out of the occupation in *Minneapolis, USA* [See "Conflict In Minneapolis"]

**November 24th:** Anti-police demonstrations shut down traffic and faced off with police for several hours in *Chicago, USA*

**November 24th:** A high-end clothing store is looted by a flash-mob in *Washington DC, USA*

**November 25th:** Traffic is blocked again with barricades during anti-police marches in *Chicago, USA*

**Late November:** Hunger strikes begin in immigrant detention centers across the U.S.

**November 27th:** An anti-police demonstration took place in *Minneapolis, USA*

**November 27th:** Solidarity demonstrations with Minneapolis and Chicago took place in several cities including *Oakland, Portland, San Francisco*, and *Seattle, USA*

**November 27th:** Traffic is blocked during an anti-police march in *Minneapolis, USA*

**November 28th:** Marchers carry torches in solidarity with the 43 disappeared students in *Polanco, MEX*

**November 29th:** A solidarity rally with those who were shot at in Minneapolis took place in *Olympia, USA*

**November 30th:** Traffic is blocked with barricades and police are attacked during an anti-capitalist demonstration in *Montreal, CAN*

**December 1st:** Slogans are spray painted for Black December in *Tijuana, MEX*

**December 2nd:** The police station occupation is evicted in *Minneapolis, USA*

**December 2nd:** The tires of a private security car are slashed for Black December in *Montreal, CAN*

**December 3rd:** A demonstration took place against the police killing of a black man in *San Francisco, USA*

**December 6th:** Several hundred marched to confront no-show white supremacists before attacking police and corporate property in *Seattle, USA*

**December 7th:** A pipeline is disrupted in *Quebec, CAN*

**December 7th:** Demonstrating students are attacked by police in *Michoacan, MEX*

**December 8th:** A non-mixed feminist demo took place in *Montreal, CAN*

**December 9th:** Police and banks are attacked during an anti-capitalist demonstration in *Montreal, CAN* [See "The Black Bloc Takes Back The Streets Of Montreal"]

**December 10th:** A court hearing is disrupted after a man is sentenced to 8 years for the alleged burning of a store during a riot the year before in *St Louis, USA*

**December 11th:** A pipeline construction site is disrupted in *New York, USA*

**December 11th:** A yuppie bar is vandalized just days after opening in *Philadelphia, USA*

**December 11th:** Students walked out against a police shooting in *San Francisco, USA*

**December 11th:** An anti-police demon-

stration took place in *Durham, USA*

**December 12th:** A cop car's window is smashed as crowds confronted police after a shooting in *Indianapolis, USA*

**December 12th:** An anti-police demonstration took place in *Tucson, USA*

**December 13th:** A banner is hung for Black December in *Minneapolis, USA*

**December 15th:** A white nationalist concert is confronted in *San Francisco, USA*

**December 18th:** Another anti-capitalist demonstration clashed with the police in *Montreal, CAN*

**December 20th:** A police car is burnt for Black December in *Huixquilucan, MEX*

**December 21st:** A pipeline is disrupted again in *Quebec, CAN*

**December 22nd:** A banner is hung for Black December in *Bloomington, USA*

**December 22nd:** Black roses are spray painted at the sites of police brutality for Black December in *St. Louis, USA*

**December 22nd:** An anti-police demonstration took place in *Burlington, USA*

**December 22nd:** A yuppie boutique is vandalized for Black December in *Montreal, CAN*

**December 23rd:** An airport is disrupted in *Minneapolis, USA* and highways are blocked in *Los Angeles* and *San Francisco, USA*

**December 23rd:** A bomb is planted at a church for Black December in *Mexico City, MEX*

**Late December:** Graffiti is written and a bomb is placed at an ATM for Black December in *Tijuana, MEX*

**December 29th:** An anti-police demonstration took place in *Bloomington, USA*

**December 31st:** Noise demonstrations take place outside jails and prisons across the continent and the world.

Unfortunately, for the sake of accessibility and brevity, the colonial land names are used.

The actions included are limited by sources the site editors are familiar with and user submissions to the site. It is also shaped by the anglophone perspective of the editors. These limitations also apply to the rest of the magazine and website more broadly. If your part of the continent is not being covered adequately, get in touch!

# RESOURCES

## NEWS

Anti-State STL [St. Louis, EN]  
<https://antistatestl.noblogs.org/>

BC Blackout [British Columbia, EN]  
<https://bcblackout.wordpress.com/>

Conflict MN [Twin Cities, EN]  
<https://conflictmn.blackblogs.org/>

Down and Drought [Arizona, EN]  
<http://downanddrought.blogspot.com/>

El Enemigo Comun [Oaxaca, EN/ES]  
<http://www.elenemigocomun.net/>

Final Straw Radio [EN]  
<https://thefinalstrawradio.noblogs.org/>

FireWorks [Bay Area, EN]  
<https://fireworksbayarea.com/>

The Hamilton Institute [Hamilton, EN]  
<https://thehamiltoninstitute.noblogs.org/>

Indigenous Action [EN]  
<http://www.indigenousaction.org/>

Montreal Counter-Information [Montreal, EN/FR]  
<https://mtlcounter-info.org/>

Philly Anti-Capitalist [Philadelphia, EN]  
<https://phlanticap.noblogs.org/>

Puget Sound Anarchists [Pacific Northwest, EN]  
<http://www.pugetsoundanarchists.org/>

Regeneración Radio [Mexico City, ES]  
<http://regeneracionradio.org/>

ReWyld StL [St. Louis, EN]  
<https://rewyldstl.noblogs.org/>

Rififi [Bloomington, EN]  
<https://riffibloomington.wordpress.com/>

Seattle Solidarity Network [Seattle, EN/ES]  
<http://seasol.net/>

Subversiones [Mexico, ES]  
<http://subversiones.org/>

Third Coast Conspiracy [Michigan, EN]  
<https://thirdcoastconspiracy.wordpress.com/>

Warrior Publications [EN]  
<https://warriorpublications.wordpress.com/>

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

325 [EN]  
<http://325.nostate.net/>

Anti-Développement [EN/FR]  
<https://antidev.wordpress.com/>

Attaque [France, EN/ES/FR]  
<https://attaque.noblogs.org/>

Bite Back [EN]  
<http://www.directaction.info/>

Chronik [Germany, EN/ES/FR]  
<https://chronik.blackblogs.org/>

Chuang [China, EN]  
<http://chuangcn.org/blog/>

CrimethInc. [EN]  
<http://www.crimethinc.com/>

Contra Info [EN/ES/FR]  
<http://contrainfo.espiv.net/>

Earth First [EN]  
<http://earthfirstjournal.org/>

Insurrection News [EN]  
<https://insurrectionnewsworldwide.wordpress.com/>

LibCom [EN]  
<https://libcom.org/>

Noticias de la Guerra Social [Chile, ES]  
<https://noticiasdelaguerrasocial.wordpress.com/>

Rabble [EN]  
<http://rabble.org.uk/>

Rebelión de las Palabras [ES]  
<http://vozcomoarma.noblogs.org/>

Recomposition [EN]  
<http://recomposition.info/>

Squat!Net [EN/ES/FR]  
<https://squat.net/>

subMedia.tv [EN]  
<http://www.submedia.tv/>

Tahrir International Collective Network [Middle East, EN]  
<https://tahriricn.wordpress.com/>

War On Society [Latin America, EN/ES]  
<https://waronsociety.noblogs.org/>

## PUBLICATIONS

- Anathema [Philadelphia, EN]  
<https://anathema.noblogs.org/>
- Avalanche [EN/ES/FR]  
<https://avalanche.noblogs.org/>
- Conspiración Acrata [Mexico, ES]  
<http://325.nostate.net/?tag=conspiracion-acrata>
- The Dirt [EN]  
<https://thedirt.noblogs.org/>
- Fire To The Prisons [EN]  
<https://firetotheprisons.org/>
- The Incarcerated Worker [EN]  
<https://iwoc.noblogs.org/>
- La Mauvaise Herbe [Montreal, FR]  
<http://archieverte.ch40s.net/la-mauvaise-herbe/>
- The Transmetropolitan Review [Seattle, EN]  
<https://thetransmetropolitanreview.wordpress.com/>
- Unstoppable [EN]  
<https://unstoppable.noblogs.org>
- Wreck [Vancouver, EN]  
<https://wreckpublication.wordpress.com/>
- Wildfire [EN]  
<https://wildfire.noblogs.org/>

## ANTI-FASCISM

- Anti-Fascist News [EN]  
<http://antifascistnews.net/>
- Atlanta Antifascist Notes [EN]  
<https://afainatl.wordpress.com/>
- NYC Antifa [EN]  
<https://nycantifa.wordpress.com>
- Philly Antifa [EN]  
<https://phillyantifa.noblogs.org/>
- Rose City Antifa [EN]  
<http://rosecityantifa.weebly.com/>
- South Side Chicago Anti-Racist Action [EN]  
<http://southsideantifa.blogspot.com/>
- Three Way Fight [EN]  
<http://threewayfight.blogspot.com/>

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## PRISONER SUPPORT

- Atlanta Anarchist Black Cross [EN]  
<http://atlblackcross.nfshost.com/>
- Bay Area Anti-Repression Committee [EN]  
<https://antirepressionbayarea.com/>
- Cleveland Four [EN]  
<http://cleveland4solidarity.org/>
- CNA México [ES]  
<http://www.abajolosmuros.org/>
- Denver ABC [EN]  
<https://denverabc.wordpress.com/>
- Durham Anti-Repression Committee [EN]  
<http://durhamantirepression.net/>
- Eric King [EN]  
<https://supportericking.wordpress.com/>
- Houston ABC [EN]  
<https://houstonabc.wordpress.com/>
- Jason Hammond [EN]  
<http://freejasonhammond.blogspot.com/>
- Jeremy Hammond [EN]  
<https://freejeremy.net/>
- La Solide [EN/FR]  
<http://lasolide.info/>
- Libérons-les [ES]  
<https://liberonsles.wordpress.com/>
- Lucasville Amnesty [EN]  
<http://www.lucasvilleamnesty.org/>
- Marius Mason [EN]  
<http://supportmariusmason.org/>
- Michael Kimble [EN]  
<https://anarchylive.noblogs.org/>
- New York City ABC [EN]  
<https://nycabc.wordpress.com/>
- NATO Three [EN]  
<https://freethenato3.wordpress.com/>
- Portland ABC [EN]  
<http://pdxabc.org/>
- Prison Books [EN]  
<https://prisonbooks.info/>
- Sacramento Prisoner Support [EN]  
<https://sacprisonersupport.wordpress.com/>
- Sean Swain [EN]  
<http://seanswain.org/>
- Toronto ABC [EN]  
<https://torontoabc.wordpress.com/>
- Tucson ABC [EN]  
<https://tucsonabc.wordpress.com/>



**Top left:** Anti-police demonstration in *Tucson, USA*

**Top right:** Interior of a yuppie boutique splattered with paint in *Montreal, CAN*

**Bottom left:** Paint dumped on an OCF Realty car in *Philadelphia, USA*

**Bottom right:** Graffiti on burnt government office in *Xalapa, MEX*





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